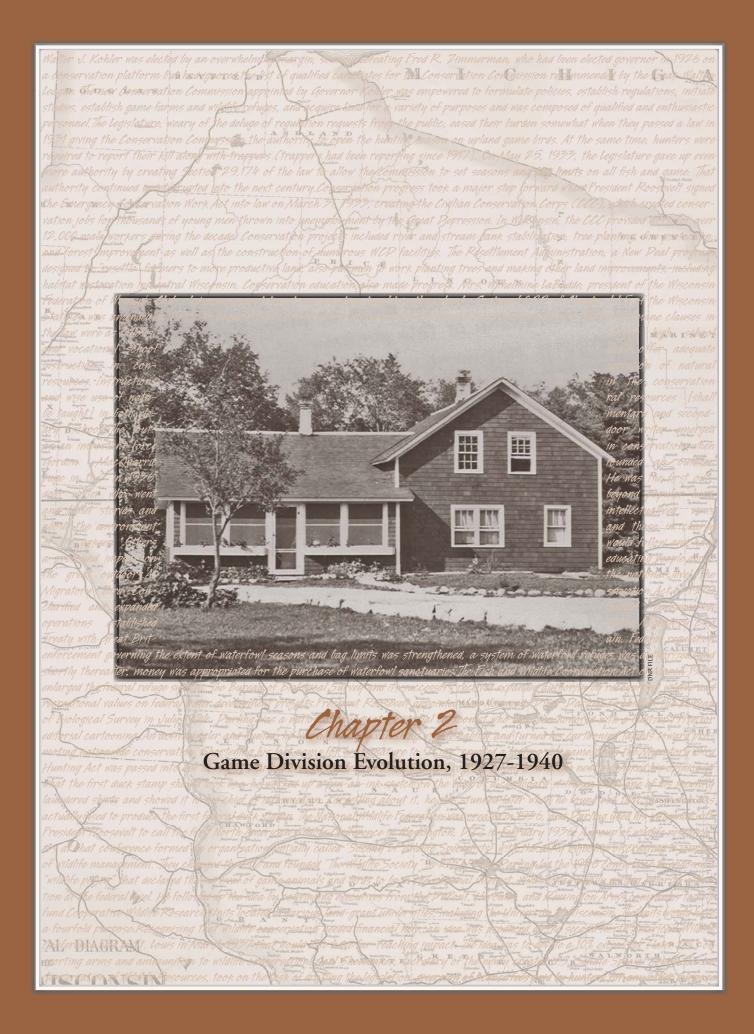
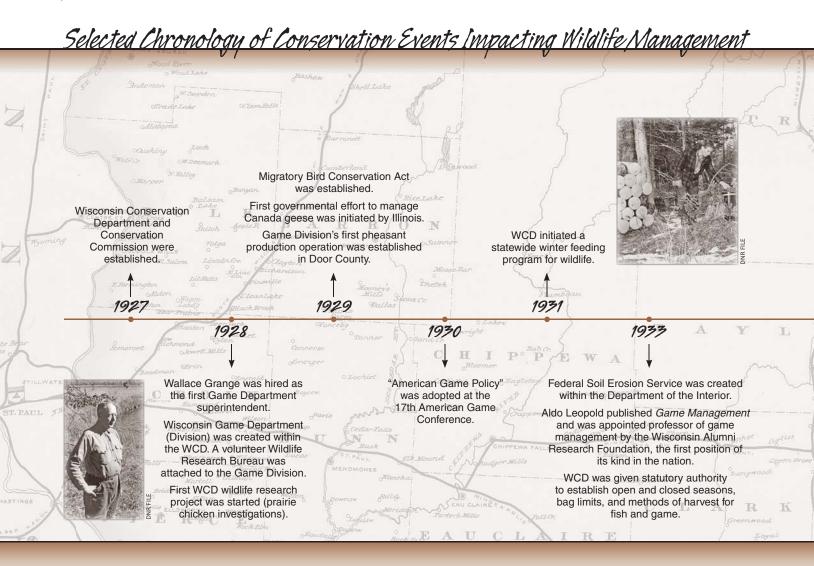
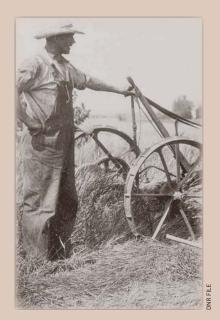
Things were looking up for conservation on the political front. The new Wisconsin Conservation Pepartment (WCP) was established by the Legislature in 1927, and a conservation-minded governor was elected in 1928. Photo: Fish Creek Game and Fur Farm, Door County.

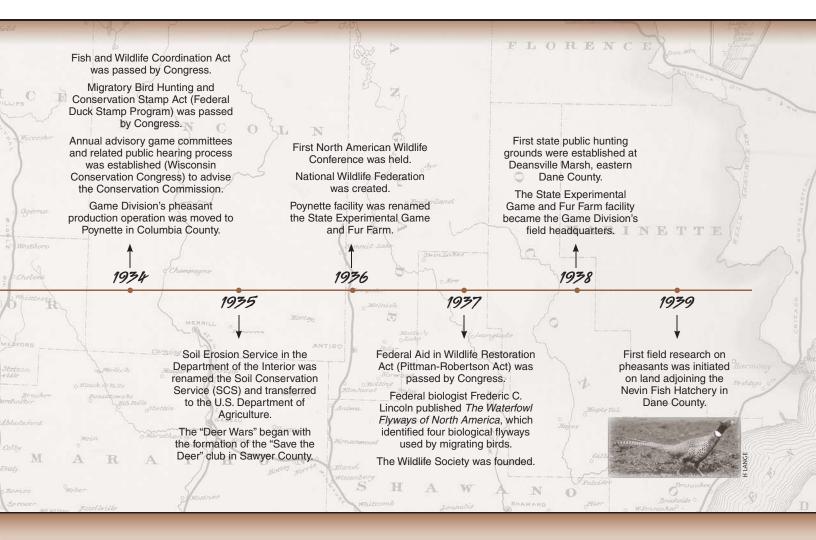




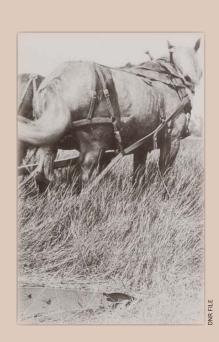
Historical Overview



- The future looked promising in 1927 as Charles A. Lindbergh flew the monoplane "Spirit of St. Louis" nonstop from New York to Paris in 33.5 hours, followed by Amelia Earhart's 1928 flight across the Atlantic. However, the 1929 stock market crash on Black Friday created an economic crisis, and Al Capone's St. Valentine's Day Massacre in Chicago that same year added an exclamation mark to the country's bleak condition.
- Franklin D. Roosevelt became the nation's 32nd president in 1933, and the Public Works Administration was created. The first of the Dust Bowl storms hit the Great Plains in November 1933. With the land already over-plowed and in the grips of a terrible drought, high winds blew great clouds of soil into the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. Tens of thousands of farm families were displaced.
- Roosevelt's New Deal programs were launched on several fronts to help people get back on their feet. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was signed into law on May 12, 1933, and gave farmers subsidies and price supports to retire unneeded cropland. The same year, the Civilian Conservation Corps put some 500,000 men back to work. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration bought up sub-marginal farmland that had been misused. The Cropland Adjustment Act of 1934 and 1935 established federal programs to help farmers.



- Drought conditions in Wisconsin's Central Sands, which had begun in 1930, culminated with a huge snowstorm followed by torrential spring rains in April 1934. Dry conditions followed with May heat that was the driest on record. A great dust storm on May 9 and 10 extended from western states into Wisconsin and blackened the sky. The Stevens Point Journal reported, "At times it appeared as though the sky had clouded over, but such was not the case, the illusion being caused by clouds of dust and dirt that had collected and were being swirled about in the sky."
- In 1939, Germany invaded Poland, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. Winston Churchill became the British prime minister as World War II began.
- Wisconsin governors serving during this period were: Fred R. Zimmerman, 1927–29; Walter Kohler, Sr., 1929–31; Phillip La Follette, 1931–33; Albert Schmedeman, 1933–35; and Phillip La Follette (again), 1935–39.
- By 1939, the U.S. population was approaching 132 million, and Wisconsin's population had passed three million.



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Bag limit

The number of any one species that can be legally harvested.



The Civilian Conservation Corps put men to work planting trees (above), restoring stream banks, and constructing WCD facilities.

Vilhelmine LaBudde, chair of the Milwaukee County Federation of Women's Clubs and a tireless worker for conservation education, became the first woman to be elected to the game and fish committee organization in 1937. She was also very active with the Izaak Walton league (a one-of-a-kind, all-women chapter was named after her) and was later named vice president of the American Forestry Association.

The Gamekeepers

hings were looking up for conservation on the political front. The new Wisconsin Conservation Department (WCD) was established by the Legislature in 1927, and a conservation-minded governor was elected in 1928. Walter J. Kohler was elected by an overwhelming margin, soundly defeating Fred R. Zimmerman, who had been elected governor in 1926 on a conservation platform but had ignored the list of qualified candidates for the Conservation Commission recommended by the Izaak Walton League. The new Conservation Commission appointed by Governor Kohler was empowered to formulate policies, establish regulations, initiate studies, establish game farms and wildlife refuges, and acquire land for a variety of purposes and was composed of qualified and enthusiastic personnel.

The Legislature, weary of the deluge of regulation requests from the public, eased their burden somewhat when they passed a law in 1931 giving the Conservation Commission the authority to open the hunting season on upland game birds. At the same time, hunters were required to report their kill along with trappers (trappers had been reporting since 1917). On May 25, 1933, the Legislature gave up even more authority by creating Section 29.174 of the law to allow the commission to set seasons and *trag limits* on all fish and game. That authority continued uninterrupted into the next century.

Conservation progress took a major step forward when President Roosevelt signed the Emergency Conservation Work Act into law on March 31, 1933, creating the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which created conservation jobs for thousands of young men thrown into unemployment by the Great Depression. In Wisconsin, the CCC provided work for over 12,000 male workers during the decade. Conservation projects included river and stream bank stabilization, tree planting, fire protection, and forest improvement as well as the construction of numerous WCD facilities. The Resettlement Administration, a New Deal program designed to "resettle" farmers to more productive land, also put men to work planting trees and making other land improvements, including habitat restoration in central Wisconsin.

Conservation education also made progress. Mrs. Wilhelmine LaBudde, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, led a movement to get conservation taught in the schools. Section 40.22 of Chapter 445 of the Wisconsin Statutes was amended in 1935 to require that "conservation of resources" be taught in all public schools. The two germane clauses in the law were as follows:

- Every high school and vocational school shall offer adequate instruction in conservation of natural resources.
- Instructions in the conservation and wise use of natural resources [shall be taught] in both elementary and secondary schools.

The outdoor writer emerged as an important force in conservation when Gordon MacQuarrie founded an outdoor page in the *Milwaukee Journal* in 1936. He was the first outdoor writer who went beyond popular hook and bullet stories and intellectualized views about the environment and those in charge of its upkeep. Others would follow and have a profound impact on educating people about the great outdoors.

At the national level, the Migratory Bird Conservation Act of 1929 clarified and expanded federal conservation operations established in the Migratory Bird Treaty with Great Britain. Federal regulation enforcement governing the extent of waterfowl seasons and bag limits was strengthened, a system of waterfowl refuges was authorized, and shortly thereafter, money was appropriated for the purchase of waterfowl sanctuaries.

The Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act of March 1934 enlarged the federal refuge system. The Bureau of Biological Survey and its successors received expanded authority by recognizing wildlife and recreational values on federal water development projects.

President Roosevelt appointed Jay Norwood "Ding" Darling as chief of the Bureau of Biological Survey in July 1934. Darling was a nationally syndicated editorial cartoonist who had been honored with a Pulitzer Prize for editorial cartooning. An active angler and hunter, he was alarmed by vanishing wildlife habitat and turned his cartooning talents toward promoting nationwide conservation. Shortening his last name for his signature to "D'ing" created a lasting nickname.

When the Migratory Bird Hunting Act was passed into law in 1934, Darling created the federal Duck Stamp Program to implement the new law. Asked his opinion of what the first duck stamp should look like, he worked up a pen-an-ink sketch on the back of a cardboard stiffener from one of his recently laundered shirts and showed it to his chief of information. Forgetting about it, he was stunned later when he found out that the sketch was actually used to produce the first federal duck stamp.

The National Wildlife Federation was created in 1936, and Darling used his influence with President Roosevelt to call the first North American Wildlife Conference in Washington, D.C., in February 1936. A group of wildlife researchers at that conference formed an organization initially called "Society of Wildlife Specialists" with the early objective of creating a journal of wildlife management. They changed the title and founded "The Wildlife Society" in 1937.

Ding Darling led the 1936 conference to endorse a "wildlife policy" that declared the survival of game animals and birds to be in the national interest. Wildlife was finally getting priority attention at the federal level. He followed up the idea by convincing executives from the DuPont, Hercules, and Remington Arms companies to help fund Cooperative Wildlife Research Units located at various land-grant universities, including the University of Wisconsin. The units would have a fourfold purpose:

- 1. Train competent men in the wildlife field
- 2. Conduct research on wildlife resources
- 3. Promote public education in wildlife management
- 4. Provide technical assistance to state wildlife agencies

Recognizing that wildlife conservation needed financial help, an idea was produced at the second North American Wildlife Conference held in St. Louis in March 1937 that would also have far-reaching impact. The idea was to devote a 10% excise tax (later 11%) on sporting arms and ammunition to wildlife conservation. Carl Shoemaker, secretary of the newly created U.S. Senate Special Committee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources, took on the task of drafting the legislation.

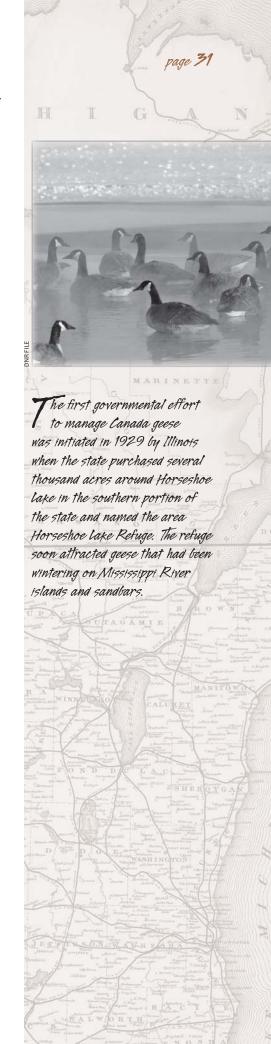
Robertson added 27 words to the draft legislation that would prove crucial: "and which shall include a prohibition against diversion of license fees paid by hunters for any other purpose than the administration of state fish and game departments."

Shoemaker carried the freight to get the bill endorsed by the Bureau of Biological Survey, numerous state wildlife agencies, conservation organizations, and the powerful arms and ammunition manufacturers. He then located sponsors for the bill that included Senator Key Pittman and Representative A. Willis Robertson. Robertson added 27 words to the draft legislation that would prove crucial: "and which shall include a prohibition against diversion of license fees paid by hunters for any other purpose than the administration of state fish and game departments."

The final legislation was introduced in the Senate by Pittman and in the House of Representatives by Robertson and would carry their names into history. The bill passed both houses of Congress and was signed into law by President Roosevelt on September 2, 1937.

The Federal Aid in Wildlife Restoration Act (commonly called the Pittman-Robertson Act) provided critical funds to the states using a formula based on hunting license sale volume. Revenues were provided to defray 75% of the state's costs if the state provided a matching 25%. It was earmarked for land purchasing and development, habitat restoration, surveys, and investigations. A small percentage could be used for administration. The latter authorization would surface as a constant auditing problem for state agencies in the years to come.

Also in 1937, federal biologist Frederic C. Lincoln completed the analysis of his years of banding data and published a report entitled *The Waterfowl Flyways of North*



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In the fall of 1935, Frederick and Francis Hamerstrom entered Wisconsin and journeyed to Necedah where Fred was about to start employment with the Resettlement Administration. His initial task was to inventory the habitat and associated wildlife before the state could attempt to restore the original wetland landscape destroyed by poor farming. Both of these individuals would have significant impact on Wisconsin wildlife.

The Gamekeepers

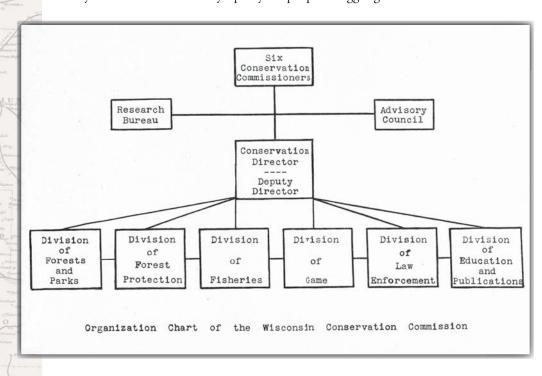
America in which he outlined four biological flyways used by migrants based upon band returns: (1) Atlantic, (2) Mississippi, (3) Central, and (4) Pacific. Lincoln's report would have a lasting effect on the management of migratory birds continentally a decade later because all state waterfowl administration, biological assessment, and law enforcement activities became organized by flyway.

The Conservation Fund continued to be a reliable budget source for the WCD but was subject to raids by the Legislature for use on other state priorities. However, because the Federal Aid in Wildlife Restoration Act prevented revenue received from hunting license sales from being diverted to purposes other than wildlife agency (WCD) use, a 1939 amendment was added to the 1917 law that had created the Conservation Fund: "License fees paid by hunters shall not be diverted for any other purpose other than the administration of the Division of Fish and Game of the Conservation Department." This legislation created a *segregated* "Fish and Wildlife Account" within the Conservation Fund. While the Legislature could still use the fund for other purposes by modifying the agency's budget bill, the federal penalty (fund loss) and sportsmen objections became effective deterrents over the years ahead.

WCD Progress

The new Wisconsin Conservation Department, directed by the Conservation Commission, showed early promise in making conservation meaningful and actively improving Wisconsin's natural resources. The agency leadership improved, as did its bureaucratic structure. Paul Kelleter—a professional forester and former forest extension director at New York State College in Syracuse—replaced the unqualified WCD director Louis Nagler in January 1930. Kelleter's professional credentials seemed a better fit for directing conservation efforts, but he fell out of favor with the Conservation Commission over law enforcement policies and was replaced by Harley MacKenzie (former chief warden) in 1934.

Despite the market crash at the end of 1929 and the Great Depression, the agency budget increased from \$600,000 in 1929 to over \$1 million in 1930 and to over \$2.4 million by the end of the decade, and agency employment grew from 215 permanent workers in 1931 to 369 by the end of 1939. License sales revenue increased in the 1930s, likely because many people relied on fish and game for sustenance during those hard economic times. Fines for violations were relatively low during this period, possibly because of the court's sympathy for people struggling to survive.



Organization chart of the Wisconsin Conservation Commission, 1929-1930.

As more money became available to the department, it was able to expand traditional programs to include more innovations. The automobile increased recreational use in the state and also helped the department cope with it. A growing road system was primitive, but progress was steadily advancing, improving access to vast tracts of wilderness.

WCD functions initially organized into three divisions: Forests and Parks, Fisheries, and Law Enforcement. By June 1928, the department bureaucracy had reorganized into six divisions, adding a Division of Forest Protection, a Division of Education and Publications, and Division of Game, with a Research Bureau attached to it that was composed of unsalaried volunteers addressing the needed science of the day. With the reorganization, the following leaders were appointed:

- C.L. Harrington, superintendent of the Division of Forests and Parks
- B.O. Webster, superintendent of the Division of Fisheries
- H.W. MacKenzie, chief warden, Division of Law Enforcement
- W.B. Grange, superintendent of the Division of Game
- F.G. Wilson, chief forest fire warden, Division of Forest Protection
- D.W. Kipp, superintendent of the Division of Education and Publications

The Conservation Commission also appointed an unsalaried, 30-person advisory council to broaden its sources of information and assist in establishing conservation policy. The advisory council was composed of leaders from different parts of the state and included the following interests:

- U.S. Lakes State Experiment Station (U.S. Forest Service, including Aldo Leopold)
- Wisconsin State Legislature
- University of Wisconsin
- U.S. Department of Agriculture
- Farmers
- Department of Education
- Wisconsin Railroad Commission

- Izaak Walton League of America
- Sportsmen clubs
- Resort interests lumber and timber
- Federation of Labor
- Pulpwood interests
- American Legion
- Newspapers
- Federation of Women's Clubs
- Commercial fishing interests

Forests and Parks

Bolstered by the first mill tax in 1929, forestry gained almost \$300,000 in revenue. Reforestation became a priority program, and the Trout Lake Nursery doubled its capacity in 1930. The program expanded further when the Central State Nursery (later renamed Griffith State Nursery) was established at Wisconsin Rapids in 1932. "State Forests" were created as a new resource category that included the Brule, American Legion, Flambeau River, Kettle Moraine, Council Grounds, and Northern Highland state forests. A CCC work project expanded the tree and shrub nursery at the Central State Nursery in 1937 for future wildlife habitat work.

The number of state parks increased from 12 in 1927 to 19 by 1939 when park visitations exceeded 1.8 million. New parks in the 1930s included Wyalusing and Nelson Dewey in Grant County, Mill Bluff in Monroe County, Lapham Peak in Waukesha County, Brunet Island in Chippewa County, and Merrick in Buffalo County.

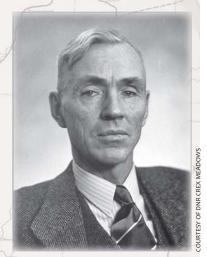
Fire Control

Fire control reorganized by creating "areas" within the existing 11 forest protection districts that had originally been established in 1919. Rangers supervised each district, but conservation wardens were put in charge at the area level. American Legion Posts were asked to provide prevention and suppression help for the department, and 66 responded with organized fire fighting teams.

Fire reporting techniques were improved during this period. The number of manned lookout tower numbers expanded to 110. The 400 miles of telephone lines installed by 1927 were extended at least another 190 miles in the decade. Radio technology was being explored in 1931 but wouldn't be used as a practical field tool until 1939.



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Barney Devine became chief warden in 1954.

Wardens are very special state workers. Little pay, long hours, constant public scrutiny, and risky working conditions. Why do it? Chief warden Barney Divine tried to answer that question in 1938:

The answer is hard to put into words. It's a matter of deep-seated feelings, a combination of circumstances that makes men forget monetary gain and do a job that they can put their heart and soul into. Maybe it has something to do with love of the outdoors, the woods, the lakes and streams, the creatures of the wilderness. Maybe it takes men who have some sort of feeling for nature's infinite plan and who derive from the natural things that so often surround them a greater inspiration then they might gain from closer contacts with the works of man. Possibly, there is something of a love of adventure in these men who are wardens, the thrill of contest with the forces of nature and the wits of men who by their acts have become opponents of conservation, enemies of the laws wardens are sworn to enforce.

The Gamekeepers

The wildfire chronology listed in Table 3 shows that the fire control organization struggled initially but finally achieved full effectiveness after 1936. The U.S. Forest Service provided fire control on their two national forests after 1934, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs assumed fire control responsibility for the Menominee Indian Reservation (which later became Menominee County). The leading causes of wildfires were land clearing, railroad operations, and arson.

Table 3. Wildfires in Wisconsin, 1930–1939.

Year	Fires	Acres Burned
1930	2,300	513,846
1931	2,340	640,979
1932	3,168	119,458
1933	3,659	259,041
1934	2,873	127,793
1935	561	1,830
1936	2,208	100,814
1937	1,311	2,967
1938	916	8,081
1939	2,021	9,864

Fisheries

The fisheries program had expanded considerably since the first fish hatchery, Nine Springs (Nevin) Hatchery was established in Madison in 1875. Twenty-two additional hatcheries were scattered around the state by 1930, and production exceeded 300 million fish stocked in Wisconsin waters. Contract and commercial fishing were initiated in 1934. The removal of rough fish with state equipment and personnel began in 1936.

A Biology Division was created in 1937 to combat fish diseases and to survey lake and stream fish populations. That same year, a national record in state propagation and distribution was set when over *one billion* fish were stocked. Thirty-three permanent and seasonal hatcheries were organized under three areas in 1938, directed by supervisors located in Woodruff, Spooner, and Madison. More than 750,000 licensed anglers were participating in fishing by 1939.

Law Enforcement

The conservation warden field organization provided most of the labor and expertise for getting fish and game programs implemented. Monthly warden salaries included \$225 for the chief, \$188 for six district wardens, \$155 for regular wardens, and \$120 for temporary wardens ("specials"). Chief warden Harley MacKenzie assumed the new title of "superintendent of law enforcement" in 1929. The warden portion of the WCD budget was \$238,000, over one-third of the total allocated to the entire department.

By 1929, the warden ranks had increased to 70 permanent wardens and 18 temporary wardens that were added during the deer season. State-owned automobiles were still provided to some wardens, but most used their own vehicles with the state paying them for the mileage driven. New and better equipment was provided, including boats, trailers, and field gear. The 1929–30 biennial report indicated that "quite a sum of the general appropriation of money for the warden division was also used for posting and brushing out the lines of refuges, buying signs for the refuges, and repairing the refuge house and grounds at the Forest County refuge north of Argonne."

Chief warden MacKenzie facilitated the production of the first warden's manual in 1929. This 61-page, pocket-sized guide soon became the bible of WCD law enforcement. It included a complete listing of commissioners, administrators, and field personnel (70 wardens, 19 foresters, 15 fisheries personnel, and four park superintendents), court decisions, attorney general opinions, sample forms of legal papers and reports, location of refuges, and "secret codes." The secret codes were various common words and phrases that had a special meaning for describing a violation, an activity, or course of action.

An interesting side note during this time period was law enforcement's organized effort to codify and simplify the fish and game rules. Complex and voluminous regulations were already a problem and would continue to plague the agency. A monthly report of arrests was also published, and 15,000 copies were distributed throughout the state as a deterrent for law-breakers.

More responsibilities were added to the warden force throughout the decade. The winter feeding program increased in size. Warden work in *deer yards* was becoming commonplace. Bow hunting for deer started in 1934, which required special warden training to become familiar with unique hunting equipment and hunter behavior. Beaver control, deer damage, and bounty claims were added to the warden's responsibilities in 1935.

Harley MacKenzie became the WCD director on July 16, 1934, and Barney Devine became the new chief warden. That same year, a warden pension fund was established that gave retirees \$50 per month for life.

Another reorganization in 1938 divided the state into three law enforcement administrative areas: Northwest Area directed by an area supervisor in Ladysmith, Northeast Area directed by an area supervisor in Wausau, and Southern Area directed by an area supervisor in Princeton.

Education and Publications

While efforts to get conservation into schools started with warden presentations as early as 1911, the new Education and Publications Division was established "in response to the need and demand for a wider public knowledge and understanding of conservation matters" and represented the first formal effort in the agency to inform and educate people about conservation. The 1930 plan included developing state park museums, public displays, visual media, and formal school programs.

The monthly Wisconsin Conservation Bulletin was published for the first time in 1936 and became the primary department tool for getting information and educational material to the public. Publications distributed to the school system by the WCD after May 1937, resulting from the 1935 law that made conservation education mandatory, included Teaching of Conservation in Wisconsin Schools and Helps in Teaching Conservation in Wisconsin Schools.

Game Division

In the spring of 1928, the Conservation Commission bought and distributed 10,000 pheasant eggs to sportsmen clubs and individuals statewide for hatching and release. While conservation wardens handled these early logistics, the commission planned to establish a new bureau to be in charge of this task.

At the April 27, 1928, commission meeting, an interview was conducted with Wallace B. Grange for the purposes of hiring him as "the head of the Game Bureau." Grange passed a civil service exam and was the top candidate for the job even though he was only 22 years old. Following a short talk by Grange outlining his views of the problems to be faced in the new job, a motion to hire him was quickly approved. His salary was established at \$185 per month.

Grange must have had considerable discussion with WCD director Louis Nagler and others over the next two months because the biennial report that ended June 30, 1928, showed an organizational chart defining the new game department's specific role. The biennial report made the commission's priorities clear: "This is the department of game, which has as its function the propagation and distribution of game birds in Wisconsin just as the department of fisheries propagates and distributes fish. The new department is as yet small, but in time it will develop to the point where it will be among the most important activities of the commission."

While the priority of this new department seemed evident, the organization chart indicated that a "Game and Fur Bureau" would actually function in four major areas:

- 1. Game propagation Pheasants and other game
- 2. Wild life [sic] refuges Game focused sanctuaries and closed areas



Harley MacKenzie directed the WCD from 1934 to 1942.

Peer yard

A concentration area for deer in the winter months that normally contains conifer cover offering thermal and wind protection along with reduced snow depth.



Wallace Grange

Wallace Grange (a cousin of football legend Red Grange) was born on September 10, 1905, in Wheaton, Illinois, His boyhood exposure to the outdoor world set a life track for making a career of it. At 13, he gained further outdoor experience when his parents moved to a farmstead 14 miles north of Ladysmith. He boarded in town while he attended classes and hiked home on the weekends, taking nature notes along the way.

His interest in science was developed and greatly stimulated by his high school science teacher, E.M. Dahlberg, who became a leading conservationist in Wisconsin. Dahlberg served on the first Conservation Commission from 1927 to 1933 and no doubt was influential in the hiring of his former student.

Grange obtained some writing skills working for the Ladysmith newspaper as a teenager and sold an article on ruffed grouse to Forest and Stream magazine in 1924. He worked for the U.S. Forest Service in Wyoming for a short time after high school and for the U.S. Biological Survey in Florida where he studied birds.

Grange attended the University of Wisconsin for a year and transferred to the University of Michigan for another year but did not finish college. He was married to Hazel St. Germain on April 12, 1927, and jumped at the chance to work in conservation when the Wisconsin Conservation Department employment opportunity materialized.

Far left: Dr. Alfred O. Gross (left) and wildlife artist Owen J. Gromme, members of the prairie chicken investigation.

Right: Wallace Grange, 1927.

The Gamekeepers

- 3. Fur farming Furbearers bolstering the economy
- 4. Predatory animal control Bounties on mammalian predators

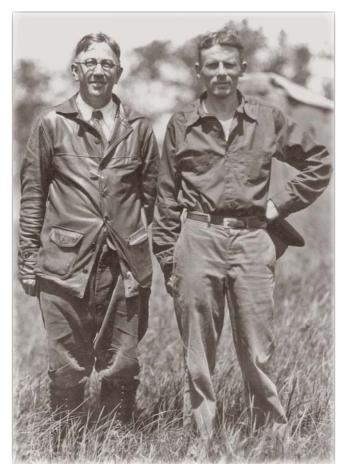
The use of the term "department" likely came from the University of Wisconsin, which had this word to categorize major teaching topics. However, the planned Game and Fur Bureau title was changed to "Division of Game" in October 1928 and was used for the next three decades.

Research Bureau

The first Research Bureau was attached to the Game Division in 1929 and was composed of volunteers who served without pay. After 1930, its distinguished personnel included Dr. Merritt L. Jones, Dr. W.D. Stovall, Professor George Wagner, Professor J.G. Halpin, and Professor L.J. Cole. The advising WCD staff included the department director and the heads of each division excepting law enforcement. The volunteers were not needed by decade's end when a new bureau structure was in place.

The first research effort, a study of the status of prairie chickens in Wisconsin, was the idea of Dr. Jones in 1928. The bureau hired Dr. Alfred Gross of Bowdoin College located in Brunswick, Maine, to lead the research. Two years later, he published *Progress Report of the Wisconsin Prairie Chicken Investigation*, which recommended establishing refuges, continuing fire control, suppressing artificial stocking in the area of sharptailed grouse, and hiring more wardens. By 1930, research plans included investigations of wildlife food habits and range, slash disposal problems, and fish population studies.

F.S.W. Schmidt, Sr. was hired as an additional researcher in 1932 to study prairie chickens and was stationed at Babcock. He accumulated a significant amount of field records over the next three years. Tragedy struck in 1935 when he died in a fire that destroyed his Clark County home. All of the prairie grouse research records obtained since he was hired were also lost in the fire.





ONR FILE, RIGHT: UW-STEVENS POINT ARCHIVES, WALLACE GRANGE COLLEC

On the national scene, research publications began to appear on a variety of wild-life-related subjects. Ecology, habitat needs, predators, migration, propagation, wildlife food, lead poisoning, pathology, and population dynamics were just a few of the topics getting attention. All of this new information was helping the state understand more about natural resources and improving its management.

The growing list of wildlife researchers publishing included familiar names like Aldo Leopold, Wallace Grange, Walter Scott, Art Hawkins, F.J. Schmidt, Fred Hamerstrom, Gardiner Bump, Al Gross, Paul Errington, Herbert Stoddard, and dozens of others with midwestern roots. Their combined works were used by the U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service to publish the first known *Wildlife Handbook* to guide field personnel in 1935.

Federal aid funds enabled wildlife research to expand. The state's first Pittman-Robertson—funded project approved by the U.S. Biological Survey administration was a census of bobwhite quail that took place on March 28, 1939, on a large study area near Prairie du Sac in Columbia County. The Wisconsin quail survey, taken annually on the study area near Prairie du Sac, had been initiated in 1929 by Paul Errington as part of his Ph.D. work at the University of Wisconsin. Albert Gastrow took it over and continued it through 1939; Aldo Leopold assisted on occasion. It became the longest running quail census in the United States.

Also in 1939, Irven Buss initiated a pheasant trapping and banding study on marshlands located adjoining the Nevin Fish Hatchery in Madison. That effort marked the first of a series of pheasant projects undertaken by the department.

State Game Farm

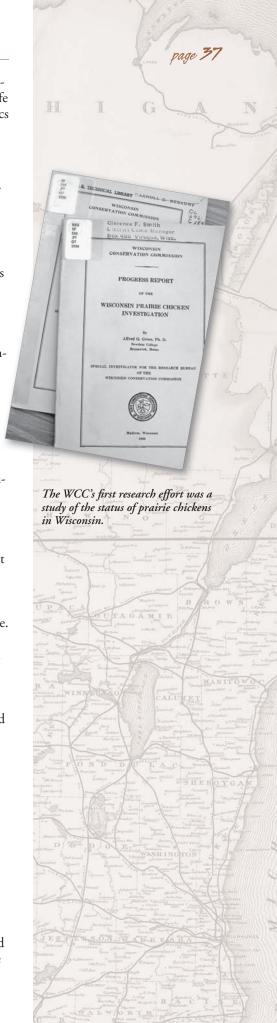
Game superintendent Grange's first task was to locate and construct a facility for the propagation of pheasants. He reportedly had \$413.89 to begin the operation, but additional funds were provided soon after the project got underway. Searching for a suitable site didn't take him long. Public lands offered the best site alternative because the land was already state owned. Grange selected a previously identified location within Peninsula State Park on June 1, 1928, possibly because Assemblyman Frank Grass of Sturgeon Bay suggested that the park include an experimental area and game reserve. It certainly could not have been chosen because of its ease of access or other amenities.

The new state game farm contained 95 acres of abandoned farm openings and fields a short distance from Lake Michigan. It was located about three miles from the small village of Fish Creek, a name that would soon be attached to the game farm title. During one of several trips to the area, Wallace Grange and his wife Hazel discovered and purchased property of their own near Bailey's Harbor where they later operated a private game farm.

Grange hired laborer Harry Johnson in May 1928 for \$65 a month to put the game farm together and run the operation. Harry hired six locals including his cousin, Harold Shine, to build the facility. The main construction consisted of brood houses, shelter pens, and various outbuildings. They also worked on the main residence and a barn to house the sitting pheasant hens (clucks). A small zoo was also established. Horse-drawn wagons and sleighs from the village of Fish Creek hauled supplies and provisions.

On August 29, 1928, Grange gave an optimistic report to the commission, telling them that "within the next five years, the Chinese ring-necked pheasant will be a common game bird in at least 35 counties." He reported on the progress to date and projected expenditures for the next year. He expected to produce up to 7,000 pheasants for release, keeping 500 hens and 100 roosters for breeding stock. In addition, he believed that providing pheasant eggs to sportsmen clubs, 4-H groups, and other interested citizens for hatching and release would become a program standard.

The Peninsula State Game Farm was the first name applied to the facility, but it soon became known as "Fish Creek." The operation was the only field management activity run entirely by the Game Division. A satellite pheasant-rearing facility located on the Moon Lake Refuge Farm in Fond du Lac County was leased in 1929 from the Izaak Walton League. On August 24–30, 1929, the commission and the governor



The Gamekeepers

toured the Moon Lake facility, which included a barn for hatching pheasants using setting hens, two enclosures containing fawn deer and turkeys, and a six-acre rearing field containing 1,000 young pheasants.

Later during the same tour, Grange showed the commission the new Fish Creek facility. The recorded notes of this visit revealed early disease concerns as Grange explained the disease precautions practiced at the facility: "The birds are fed on boards, the food being left before the birds for 15 minutes when the food and boards were picked up, taken away, and the boards boiled so as to disinfect them. The water the birds drank was disinfected as were the cups, so that every chance of disease could be guarded against."

The notes also mentioned an 18-acre rearing field at Fish Creek. Tall posts with traps on top were placed at various locations in the field to catch vermin. Lanterns were hung on each post to attract insects at night and keep vermin away. About 3,000 young pheasants were scattered in 300 coops in the main production area. The notes indicated that 44 turkeys were also on the grounds, 41 of which were hatched from the eggs of two hens. A zoo of various animals was also maintained, which attracted 20,000–25,000 visitors during the year.

Grange Departs

Grange drafted a Game Division organization plan and game program for Wisconsin in a 17-page document presented on March 26, 1930, to the WCD director. The plan included the formation of game districts, an organization for refuges, propagation, winter feeding, predatory animal control, damage complaint handling, and game surveys. He also recommended increased budgets, more refuges, public hunting grounds, propagation, a quail fellowship, and game plantings (elk and turkey).







The Fish Creek Game Farm was the WCD's first game



Surprising everyone, Grange left the agency on May 18, 1930, for a two-year stint in Washington, D.C., working for the United States Biological Survey in bird research. At the same time, he and Hazel bought 1,928 acres of tax delinquent land in Wood County located in central Wisconsin, anticipating that they could make a living operating a game farm there in the future.

The long introductory paragraph for the Game Division in the 1929–30 biennial report revealed a daunting list of shortcomings facing Grange's replacement:

The great need of an intensive game management program for Wisconsin, barely begun during the past biennium, is readily apparent to all who have seen the rapid and unfavorable changes which have come to Wisconsin game birds and animals in recent years. The unfavorable changes of game cover and food conditions, the indiscriminate draining of marsh areas, the motor car and the consequent flocking of hunters to the last stands of already depleted game areas, general overshooting, the lack of strategically placed refuges, tardy restocking, the need of winter feeding, unknown game diseases, modern arms and ammunition, the unfavorable balance of predators to game in certain areas, the purchasing and leasing by private individuals and groups of the state's finest remaining shooting grounds, the ever-increasing posting of lands and farms, and the new and increasing generation of hunters, all bear directly on the problem of Wisconsin's future game management program.

Game Division Expansion

After Grange left the agency, the Conservation Commission took three months before hiring a new game superintendent. After screening a short list of candidates, they hired a 30-year-old military man, William F. Grimmer. He was a graduate of St. John's Military Academy in Wisconsin and formerly the assistant commandant at that facility. Grange had left an aggressive plan for his replacement to execute:

- Expand the game production program at the Fish Creek Game Farm
- Stock sections of the state with suitable species of game animals
- Develop a system of public hunting and fishing grounds
- Develop a system of refuges based on scientific survey
- · Assist in developing an international system of waterfowl refuges
- Survey the game crop by county
- Maintain a comprehensive game bird winter feeding program
- Continue research in food, cover, and predator problems
- Continue educational work among sportsmen and citizens

Under Grimmer's leadership, the Game Division experienced considerable growth in organization and function. His military background seemed perfect for developing a clear chain of command with his workers and directing orderly program growth. He had an unflappable personality, a trait that would make him an invaluable negotiator and mediator for the agency.

The Fish Creek Game Farm operation had already expanded well beyond the original plans. A new subsidiary facility was established at Waupun in 1930 for hatching and rearing pheasants, using prisoners as laborers. The state's original game farm at Trout Lake in Vilas County was still functioning but contained only elk and deer. The 600-acre facility contained an elk herd composed of 19 bulls, 17 cows, and 9 calves. At least 100 deer were still held on the farm when inventoried in December of 1928. By 1931, the annual feeding cost of \$500 was judged by the Conservation Commission to be too much, so half the elk herd was given away to various parks and zoos. In August of the following year, the remaining 15 elk were released to the wild, but they needed to be fed artificially for a few years before they were able to forage for themselves. With the game farm heavily browsed and expenses a concern, the commission finally ordered release of the remaining deer and closed the facility.



Aldo Leopold's early wildlife management concepts had nationwide impact.

The Gamekeepers

The Moon Lake Game Farm was producing more pheasants and added chukar partridge, valley partridge, Hungarian partridge, bobwhite quail, and rare pheasants including melanistic mutants, Mongolian, Reeves, versicolor, and Formosan breeds by 1931. Frank Hopkins was hired in September that year to supervise this operation. Moon Lake was also a duck banding station and led to mallard and wood duck propagation becoming an annual objective.

The main facility at Fish Creek was expanded in 1931. The zoo concept was terminated, and a wildlife exhibit of foreign (exotic) and native birds took its place. Not only were about 7,800 roosters stocked in the state but over 28,000 pheasant eggs were distributed to sportsmen clubs for hatching, rearing, and release. Hungarian partridge, sharp-tailed grouse, and "gray" mallard duck were also being produced, raised, and released.

Approximately 140 wild turkeys were raised at the game farm and released near Poynette and Baraboo in 1931. The following year, 235 more turkeys were raised and released between Spring Green and Lone Rock in Richland County. Records indicated a total of 400 to 500 had already been released in this area with other plantings occurring in Columbia and Burnett counties. Game production volume over the next decade would exceed the department's most optimistic expectations.

Leopold Influence

Aldo Leopold left the U.S. Forest Service and Forest Products Laboratory in May 1928 to gamble on an ambitious, first-of-its-kind job with the Sporting Arms and Ammunitions Manufacturers' Institute. His task was to inventory game conditions in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and Minnesota. This change of life path was fortuitous for Leopold and the people of Wisconsin. Soon, his impact would be felt nationwide.

Leopold had just completed two chapters of his "Southwestern Game Fields" manuscript. His thinking about wildlife management was solidified as the ink was drying on the page. In the first chapter, "Elements of Game Management," he wrote, "We have ventured into a new field with no guide except our conviction of its importance, no training except our experience as outdoorsmen, and no resources except that dwindling amount of spare time which the professional man can spare from breadand-butter pursuits." In describing the environmental factors that affect game population growth, Leopold observed that "civilization has upset every factor of productivity for better or worse. Game Management proposes to substitute a new and objective equilibrium for the natural one which civilization has destroyed." The seeds of a new profession had been sown.

Another significant event occurred in 1928 that would ultimately have nation-wide impact on wildlife management. The American Game Protective Association, founded in 1913 and composed of educators, scientists, and state agency professionals, decided they should develop a game policy to guide state wildlife agencies in addressing various game-related problems. Aldo Leopold chaired this policy committee. Two years later, the organization adopted and published "The American Game Policy" that shaped government wildlife programs over the next 44 years. The organization itself later changed its name to the Wildlife Management Institute.

Leopold's "Southwestern Game Fields" manuscript had given him a head start in producing the new national game policy. Likely, he had so much information on the topic that another book was warranted. While giving a series of lectures at the University of Wisconsin in February and March of 1929, he dropped the "Southwestern Game Fields" title and revised the manuscript's focus under a new title, "Deer Management in the Southwest." At the same time, his lecture series was creating an impression at the University of Wisconsin that would change his life in a significant way.

Leopold completed his wildlife survey contract and published *Report of a Game Survey of the North Central States* in the spring of 1931. The report was the first of its kind in the United States and contained information about wildlife species, cycles, research, education, "game keepers," and game policy that would enlighten state agencies, federal agencies, educators, and the public about wildlife principles. It was

instantly popular and had broad impact on the management of wildlife nationwide throughout the twentieth century.

In 1931 and 1932, the Depression had everyone struggling, including Leopold. He survived on his savings and a little consulting income as he finished the manuscript on the game management book that would make him legendary in this new field. He was hired by the Conservation Commission in October of 1932 to establish a statewide system of game management projects including refuges, farmer cooperatives, a quail experimental area, and the state's first public hunting grounds. It took several months to complete most of the work.

Leopold reported on his assignment in an April 1, 1933, letter to the commission. He recommended that four of twelve areas that he studied be established for experimental management:

- 1. Pardeeville in Columbia County Free public hunting grounds on 13,000 acres
- 2. Ellington in Outagamie County Demonstration pheasant refuge on 1,500 acres
- 3. Burlington in Racine County Cooperative shooting preserve for pheasant and Hungarian partridge hunting on 1,700 acres
- 4. Ithaca in Richland County Quail demonstration area on 600 acres

Leopold recommended that personnel be hired to operate the experimental effort, including a superintendent of shooting preserves; an administrator for refuges, shooting grounds, and demonstration areas; and low-salaried men for mapping, surveying, compiling, and routine public contacts. He also recommended an assistant superintendent for Bill Grimmer at \$3,000 per year and \$1,000 for travel expenses along with publication of a free *Public Shooting Ground Farmer's Handbook*, estimated to cost \$1,200 to produce.

Leopold's profession-defining book, *Game Management*, was finally published in May of 1933. The Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation hired Leopold in August as a professor of game management, the first position of its kind in the United States. Soon after his appointment, he summarized game management progress to date with the following in an article entitled "Game Cropping in Southern Wisconsin":

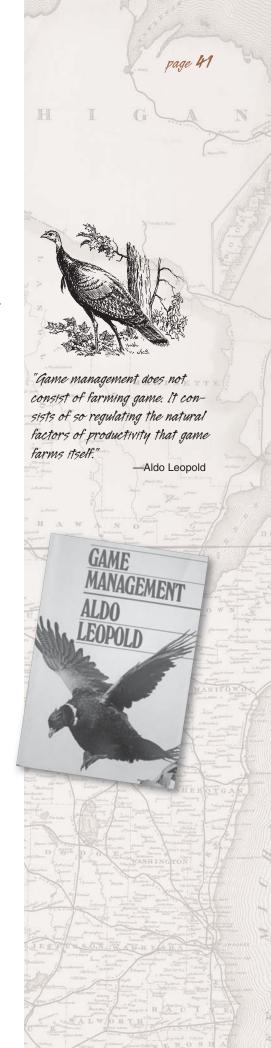
Game conservation during the past forty years has made one discovery: that the stupendous decline in game abundance has been brought about, not alone by the increase in gunpowder, but also by the deterioration of food and cover. This is true in this degree: If you exclude gunpowder from a farm, but let the cows eat up all of the cover, you have no game, whereas, if you limit gunpowder to the natural increase or surplus population, and exclude the cows from a few skillfully selected spots of food and cover, you have an abundance of game, and also other wildlife.

Game conservation, then, resolves itself into a question of vegetation control. The game conservation movement, however, has so far, equipped itself only for gunpowder control. Our system of wardens, game laws, and leagues are equipped to regulate conduct, but not cows. They are husbandmen of plants who have mistaken themselves for policemen.

Leopold's advisory activities with a group of farmers near Lake Mills in Jefferson County in 1933 led to the establishment of a cooperative project that significantly influenced his thinking about land use and people management. Stoughton Faville, an early homesteader with strong naturalist credentials, led the group. Leopold eventually named the project after him. The Faville Grove Wildlife Experimental Area served as training grounds for graduate students who became the state's first generation of game managers.

In giving a radio talk in September 1933, Leopold identified himself as a "game manager," the first known media use of that title. For a radio talk in October, he identified himself as "game manager, University of Wisconsin." This unique label mysteriously disappeared from the monthly radio series the following March and was not used by him again.

Leopold wrapped up some contractual obligations with the Conservation Commission on December 7, 1933, by writing to Bill Grimmer about deer refuge





The Gamekeepers

specifications. He thought the size should be between 5,000 and 10,000 acres. Anything smaller would be "driven" by deer hunters. He recommended that the refuges not be much farther apart than they were across, which meant three refuges in each 100,000-acre forest unit. Road boundaries were not necessary, but streams, trails, and fire lanes were most desirable. Strangely, he recommended that a single strand of wire be installed on the boundary as soon as possible. (What could he have been thinking? Very dangerous to wildlife and people!)

Throughout most of the 1930s, Leopold's primary work with the WCD was consultation. He wrote numerous letters to MacKenzie and Grimmer and shared his opinions on various issues on a regular basis. He also developed a close relationship with Ernie Swift, a Wisconsin warden whose legendary career started with adventurous North Woods encounters with Chicago mobsters in the 1920s and peaked when he became the WCD director, serving from 1947 to 1954. Leopold admired Swift's courage and his straight-talking manner, striking an early friendship with him in the 1920s. Both men benefited from this friendship as Leopold learned about rough-and-tumble field warden challenges while Swift got a dose of scholarly viewpoints. There is no doubt that Leopold had a profound impact on Swift because Leopold's style of thinking and writing was reflected later in Swift's career.

A *New York Times* article in 1934 called Leopold's appointment at the University of Wisconsin "one of several novel scientific enterprises furthered by the Alumni Research Foundation." Leopold's influence in Wisconsin was indeed novel. That same year, he published an outline for game management for the Wisconsin Regional Planning Committee. Leopold's plan identified seven "salient needs of a game cropping program":

- 1. More research
- 2. More emphasis on private lands in demonstrating cropping techniques
- 3. Extension of cropping operations over all suitable range
- 4. Putting waterfowl on a sustained yield basis
- 5. Organizing county tax-reversions into "Conservation Districts"
- 6. Encouraging private landowners to "earn" their shooting by:
 - a. Differential seasons for managed lands
 - b. Revenue from shooting privileges
- 7. Subsidizing private lands used for public purposes

Game Farm Relocation

Pheasant production numbers at Fish Creek increased to over 22,000 by 1933, and the biennial report indicated a statewide pheasant harvest of about 150,000 cocks. The same year, a decision was made by the department to cooperate with the fur industry and raise raccoon to bolster depleted populations. A cooperative agreement was made with the Wisconsin Raccoon and Fox Hunters Association to initially provide the association 20 raccoon each year for statewide release. Larger numbers would be provided in future years.

About this time, WCD director MacKenzie's banker father obtained 100 acres of tax delinquent land near Poynette and offered the land to the department through his son. Encouraged by MacKenzie himself, Grimmer endorsed a plan to lease or buy the Poynette acreage. He thought the new operation would be a model facility and eventually include experimental hatching, rearing, and breeding of exotic and native game birds, native *fur-learing animals*, and general game management work.

Grimmer proposed using the CCC and CWA (Civil Works Administration) workers to facilitate the move. He asked for the authority to lease the land for the first year for \$300 with the option to buy later. Moving equipment and buildings from the other facilities was estimated to cost no more than \$3,000. He also anticipated buying 25,000 pheasant eggs the following June to make up for lost production during the move. The Conservation Commission quickly approved Grimmer's game farm recommendations. The new State Game Farm at Poynette became operational in the spring

of 1934, and over the next six years, fall pheasant releases surpassed the most optimistic projections:

1934 – 24,289 **1937** – 77,512 **1935** – 29,701 **1938** – 155,194 **1936** – 34,930 **1939** – 201,847

The propagation of other species was equally as impressive and included raccoon, fox, mink, turkey, Hungarian partridge, chukar partridge, and bobwhite quail. Experiments with different varieties of pheasants, including Reeves, versicolor, Mongolian, golden, black, and green, would build up a database of successes and failures unequaled in the country.

The wildlife exhibit was redesigned, and tours remained popular, attracting about 20,000 visitors annually through the end of the decade. The combination of technological advances and pen-raising knowledge quickly established the facility as one of the finest in the United States.

As the volume of pheasants grew each year and the complexities of experiments with other species became apparent, animal health and disease issues became a significant component of the game farm effort. A game pathologist was hired in 1935 to do full-time work at Poynette. In addition to health and disease monitoring of the facility, a program of statewide pathology was initiated to properly diagnose other disease problems showing up in the wild. By the end of 1939, two pathologists and a chemist were on staff, and the annual number of specimens actually handled once totaled an incredible 34,695.

MacKenzie took a personal interest in the game farm and went so far as to rename the facility in an April 9, 1936, memorandum to Grimmer. His exact words were as follows:

In connection with the signs for the game and experimental fur farm, the question has been raised as to whether the game end also is not experimental, which it surely is. Consequently please effect the necessary arrangements to have the farm known hereafter as "State Experimental Game and Fur Farm" throughout the department.

A Wisconsin *State Experimental Game and Fur Farm Guidebook* was published later in 1936, the first of a series that would be produced over the next 12 years. The guidebook identified all Game Division permanent personnel; detailed the game farm operations; described buildings, experiments, pathology, and administration; and presented the life histories of many animals kept at the facility. The pathologist's report listed 9,392 birds and mammals examined that year. The introductory text of the guidebook stated, "Eventually, headquarters for public hunting grounds, refuges, winter feeding, and other game field activities will be established at Poynette." Clearly, the Poynette facility was becoming more important for game management operations.

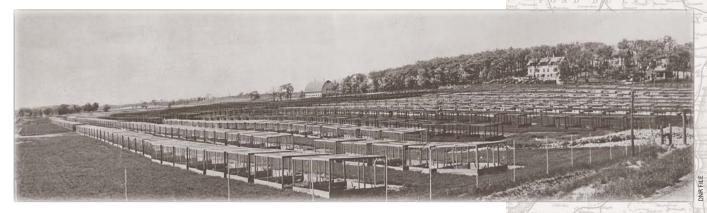


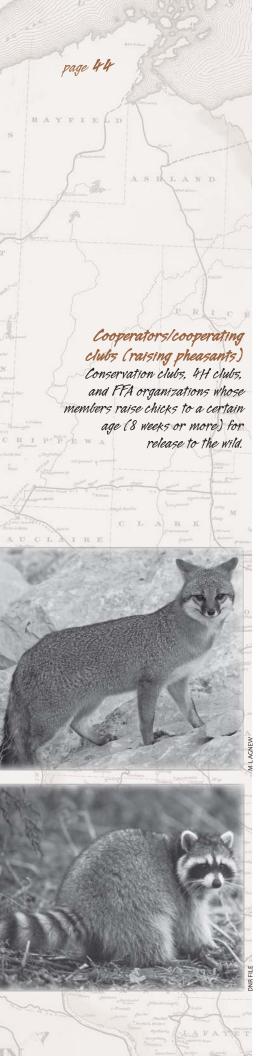
Fur-bearing animals

Pefined by Wisconsin law to include offer, beaver, mink, muskrat, marten, fisher, skunk, raccoon, fox, weasel, opossum, badger, wolf, coyote, wildcat (bobeat), and lynx.



The 1934 Poynette Game Farm was a state-of-the-art facility drawing national attention.





The Gamekeepers

Game Farm Progress

Between 1936 and 1938, the game farm facility expanded to meet increasing demands. Three tracts of land totaling 173 acres were added to the ownership base, and 20,400 feet of special game farm fencing were erected. CCC crews assisted the game farm staff to construct new brooder house and shelter pens. They also constructed 1,700 small breeding pens, 240 raccoon pens, 30 fox pens, 200 partridge/ quail pens, and 10 sectional game bird shelters for the holding fields.

The largest construction project during this time period was the completion of a 36' x 100' building to contain incubation facilities and feed storage. The old game farm office was moved and remodeled into living quarters for single men working on the grounds. The animal exhibit was also remodeled and additional facilities added to adequately accommodate a larger number of species for display.

Game farm successes and failures were summarized in a 1939 report that indicated the facility had improved operations considerably from its beginning ten years before. Pheasant production was the principal activity and required 20,000 to 30,000 mature birds held through the breeding season. The average number of pheasant chicks produced often reached 300,000. A surplus of 1,000 to 15,000 mature birds was held over winter for spring stocking in heavily hunted areas.

The primary birds propagated included ring-necked, Mongolian, and Chinese pheasant species. Black-necked, Formosan, and mutant breeds were also produced in lesser numbers. Experimental pheasant varieties for future hunting included Reeves, Nepal kaleege, versicolor, Elliott, and cheer pheasants. The Reeves pheasant showed the most promise of all the tree roosting pheasants.

The farm also maintained about 300 ornamental and rare varieties of game birds and about 150 native and exotic waterfowl for display in their exhibition section. Examples included Swinhoe's pheasant, black-throated golden pheasant, Lady Amherst pheasant, black shoulder peafowl, blue peafowl, red junglefowl, white pheasant, white-crested kaleege, and Nepal kaleege. It was standard practice to occasionally give these birds to zoos and exhibits around the state.

Providing day-old pheasant chicks and eggs to *cooperators* remained a huge program and involved hundreds of individuals and organizations. Brooding and rearing facilities were required to meet department specifications, and close monitoring of results was maintained through record keeping and warden inspections. The game farm staff provided feed, technical advice, and diagnostic service to ensure pheasant health and welfare.

Experiments also involved delivering pheasants four weeks, eight weeks, and fourteen weeks of age with allotments ranging from 200 to 2,000 birds per county. Consigned to the local warden, most of these experiments proved too costly and yielded poor release success rates because of high mortality in captivity. Mature pheasant distribution occurred in the spring and summer and involved cocks and spent breeders. They were usually given as prizes to support the winter feeding program.

Partridge and quail production experiments were also conducted with mixed results. The varieties included chukar partridge, Hungarian partridge, French red leg partridge, bobwhite quail, and valley quail. Chukar production showed the most promise with 560 hens and 270 cocks used for breeders in 1939. A total of 17,602 eggs were produced with most set in forced-air incubators. A hatching success rate of 76.1% was achieved. Other partridge and quail experiments generally failed or produced poor results.

Red foxes and black, cross, and gray raccoons were released during the decade consistent with the agreement the WCD made with the Wisconsin Raccoon and Fox Hunters Association. The stated goal was to improve fur quality and continue stocking "until the various parts of the state are adequately supplied with game adaptable to the area." Table 4 shows the raccoon and fox releases reported by the game farm.

Table 4. Annual State Game Farm stocking, 1935–1940.

Animal	1935–36	1936–37	1937–38	1938-39	1939–40
Raccoon	299	574	986	1,020	1,076
Red fox	0	30	96	39	16

Leopold reflected on stocking in his book Game Management:

There are still those who shy at this prospect of a man-made game crop as something artificial and therefore repugnant. This attitude shows good taste but poor insight. Every head of wild life still alive in this country is already artificialized, in that its existence is conditioned by economic forces. Game management merely proposes that their impact shall not remain wholly fortuitous. The hope of the future lies not in curbing the influence of human occupancy—it is already too late for that—but in creating a better understanding of the extent of that influence and a new ethic for its governance.

Private Sector Licensing

Game, fur, and deer farm licensing was also administered by the WCD. A Fur Bureau was created within the Game Division in 1931 because the economic value of furbearing animals was thought to warrant special attention. Even with low fur prices, the trapper survey showed a volume valued at over \$500,000. Records indicated that fur farms had exploded from five in 1923 to 2,230 by 1931. Three types of fur farm licenses were issued: muskrat, beaver, and "general" (raccoon, mink, otter, fisher, marten, and skunk).

Not much was known about furbearers beyond trapper reports. On December 14, 1933, Director MacKenzie wrote a memorandum to the Conservation Commission chair stating, "Something should be done to look over all possible areas in the state that will produce fur-bearing animals, study the food conditions and general make-up of the territory, the animals found thereon, and the adaptability for stocking the same with fur animals that perhaps have been practically trapped out."

The MacKenzie memo also indicated that he and Bill Grimmer had been working extensively to procure black raccoon for planting purposes and had traded deer for two pairs of silver foxes (source of the foxes not cited). They were also considering raising blue foxes (a type of red fox) and American (pine) martens for planting. MacKenzie thought both species could be reestablished in the wild if they had someone to do the work. MacKenzie recommended delegating a "first-class fur man to carry on investigations and report his findings of conditions of all fur territories to Mr. Grimmer." This person could also live trap animals in high population areas and release them in low population areas. They had such a person on staff and only needed the commission to approve his transfer to the Game Division.

The commission approved the fur specialist hiring recommendations, and two men, K.C. Jakoubek and P.C. Peterson, were selected and assigned stations in the northeast and northwest portions of the state. The positions were shown as a "Beaver Control Section" in the 1935–36 regulations pamphlet listing of all conservation wardens, with Jakoubek stationed at Tomahawk and Peterson at Hayward.

Privately owned game farms, which had been allowed by state law since 1909, initially were not as popular as fur farms. In 1931, only 58 were licensed. The deer farm authority created by new legislation in 1931 was authorized for only ten individuals. Shooting preserves created by additional legislation in 1935 led to 60 licensed individuals involving about 48,000 acres. By that year, licensed deer farms increased to 29, and about 1,000 game and fur farms were recorded. The number of captive wildlife license holders remained about the same through 1939.

Leopold undoubtedly shared his views of game farms with the commission and the WCD staff. He had strong views about the difference between game farm production and proper game management.

Artificial Feeding

Wardens initiated some emergency feeding of wildlife as early as the winter of 1922 when freezing conditions threatened sharp-tailed grouse populations. Other efforts to feed game birds in winter occurred, but the program wasn't formalized until 1931. At this time, the concern was that game birds needed special artificial feeding help to get through most winters.

Leopold expressed his views as early as 1919 with the following:

What are the Game Farmers?...

In general, the Game Farmers propose to supplement wild game with, or substitute for it, a supply produced under artificially regulated conditions....

What are the Wild Lifers?

[First known use of the word] They are the advocates of restrictive game laws; the scarcer the game, the more restrictions....

A first and fundamental distinction between the two is that the Game Farmer seeks to produce merely something to shoot, while the Wild Lifer seeks to perpetuate, at least, a sample of all wild life, game and non-game. The one caters to the gunner, the other to the whole outdoors-loving public....

Secondly, the Game Farmer, so far, at least, is purely materialistic as to what his "something to shoot" consists of. If Chinese pheasant is cheaper and easier to raise than the American heath hen, and is equally good game, then, he says, let the heath hen go hang!... On the other hand, the Wild Lifer regards the perpetuation of native species as an end in itself, equal if not greater in importance than perpetuation of "something to shoot."

Peer yarding Concentrations of deer or the process of deer moving into a deer yard.

The Gamekeepers

The first budget for statewide wildlife feed occurred in 1931 when \$2,500 was used to establish 600 feeding stations in 57 counties with 84 organizations taking part. The following year, the budget remained the same, but the number of feeding stations jumped to over 4,000, probably as a result of the department initiating a winter feeding contest whereby participants were awarded a quantity of ring-necked, Mongolian, and mutant pheasants and mallard ducks for their efforts.

Records indicate that over 60,000 feeding stations were active by the winter of 1934–35, providing benefits to pheasants, sharp-tailed grouse, prairie chicken, Hungarian partridge, and bobwhite quail. Those numbers tapered off to 50,000 for a few years before participation was documented for about 100 sportsmen clubs competing in the annual winter feeding contest and involving 6,072 feeding stations in 1939. (The 50,000–60,000 figures seem to be in error as all other years are in the 5,000–6,000 range.) At decade's end, the budget had increased to about \$10,000 annually and enabled the purchase of over 27 tons of alfalfa and concentrated feed (pellets).

Winter feeding wasn't confined to game birds. Wardens began to report *quarding* and overbrowsing conditions in northern Wisconsin as early as 1930. In 1934, artificial feeding was used to sustain an overpopulation of deer in an overbrowsed refuge in Douglas County. After a severe winter in 1935–36, deer starvation was reported in six northern counties, and artificial feeding became a standard state-sponsored activity. Wardens hauled hay, grain, and concentrate (pellets) to various feeding stations annually into the next decade. (See Table 5 for a summary of winter deer feeding from 1935 through 1940.) The winter of 1938–39 was also severe, and starvation was again reported in the north.

Table 5. Winter deer feeding summary (tons), 1935–1940.

Year ^a	ear ^a Hay Con		Total	al Cost		
1935–36	23	1	24	\$581.74		
1936-37	28	3	31	\$706.51		
1937-38	39	2	41	\$2,066.76		
1938-39	41	2	43	\$906.33		
1939–40	13	12	27	\$1,514.51		

^aTwo tons of corn was distributed between 1935 and 1940.

Refuges

The "refuge idea" for replenishing game populations expanded significantly after the Game Division was created in 1928. The concept likely received strong endorsement from Leopold. Such an endorsement would create a clear path for the WCD and the Game Division to expand the refuge program statewide. The Law Enforcement Division would have been supportive as well because wardens were required to implement the program in the field and enforce the law.



Game feeders were regularly

in Wisconsin.

maintained at thousands of sites





TOS: DNR FILE

The 1928–30 biennial report indicates that 59 private wildlife refuges covering 62,291 acres existed primarily to protect small game. An additional 12 state wildlife refuges on 235,137 acres were established to protect deer and bear. Fourteen state parks added 11,562 acres to the refuge system.

The State Forest program absorbed some former park land and designated 140,000 acres as refuge. Two unique wildlife sanctuaries designed for "the protection and propagation of certain species of animals, birds, trees, shrubs, plants, or flowers" were established in Outagamie County, but the acreage was not indicated in the report. Three waterfowl refuges were also established on 5,000 acres. The grand total included about 90 refuges containing about 444,000 acres.

While refuge lands expanded in number and size in the early 1930s, a Supreme Court decision in June 1934 required written consent of the landowner for any refuge to be established. This required a major revision of the entire system the following year. In 1935, four categories were created: white-tailed deer refuges, upland bird refuges, waterfowl refuges, and sanctuaries.

A very unusual event occurred in 1935 and 1936 when a national organization called "More Game Birds in America, Incorporated" conducted a national contest to entice private landowners to create waterfowl refuges with the slogan "Help restore America's game birds and win an attractive prize." Awards of \$200 for first place, \$100 for second place, \$50 for third to sixth place, and silver cups awarded to everyone through 20 places were enough to attract hundreds of entries and protected thousands of acres for migratory birds nationwide.

The purpose of the refuge program in Wisconsin was encapsulated in the 1936 game farm guidebook as follows:

A system of public shooting grounds and wild life [sic] refuges is to be operated in coordination with the distribution (stocking) program. This will give the licensed hunter an opportunity to hunt on the grounds belonging to the state, and secure the overrun from adjacent wild life refuges and benefit by releases of game made on the public hunting areas from time to time. The refuges will serve to protect the seed stock for the natural increase of game on the hunting grounds.

By 1938, a total of 184 game refuges were established on 450,000 acres. An additional 500,000 acres of seasonal closed areas were established to protect deer. Waterfowl refuges were established on about 116,000 additional acres. Portions of 160,000 acres under the supervision of the Soil Conservation Service were closed to hunting and trapping as well, but the total acreage actually closed was not quantified.

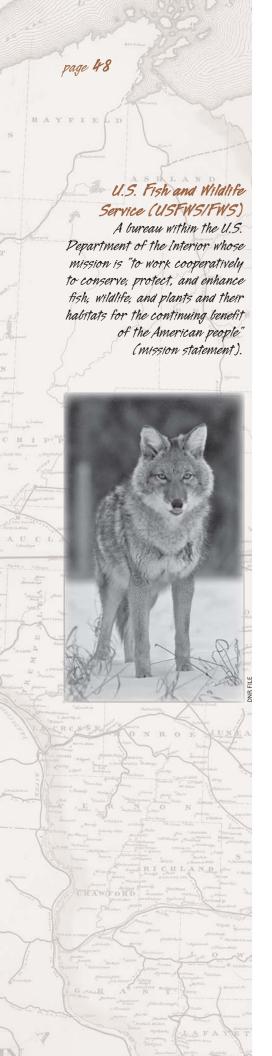
Public Hunting Grounds

As early as 1925, sportsmen and conservation leaders recognized that private development was consuming vast amounts of hunting and fishing land. Simultaneously, public hunting and fishing demand was increasing as were complaints about finding places to recreate. The department's 1929–30 biennial report documented the first formal goal to establish a system of public hunting grounds.

Early in the 1930s, the department credited the Forest Crop Law for providing over 750,000 acres of land open to public hunting and fishing as a way of appeasing the public demands. By 1935, county and state forests added almost one million acres to this credit line, but needs in the south were still unfulfilled. The WCD stated in its 1935–36 biennial report that "under existing financial arrangements, it is impracticable for the game division to attempt to purchase or lease public hunting grounds in the central or southern counties."

The sportsmen's license created in 1937 enabled any resident to obtain the right to hunt, trap, and fish with one license. The minimum fee for that license was \$5, but the licensee could donate any amount above the minimum to the WCD. Any receipt above \$3 was earmarked for acquiring public hunting, fishing, or refuge lands. While only 3,916 licenses were sold the first three years for just \$8,973, license sales would eventually bring in significant revenue for buying public land.





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The new federal funds generated by the 1937 Pittman-Robertson Act boosted the state's ability to lease and purchase land considerably. With new funds in hand, the Conservation Commission directed the department to develop a public hunting program. It took a full year to accomplish this task. The state's first leased public hunting ground was established on 1,280 acres of Deansville Marsh in eastern Dane County (south central Wisconsin) in the fall of 1938. The base lease rate was \$0.10 per acre but could be adjusted up to \$0.25 per acre for better cover areas.

In the same year, the WCD leased 120,000 central Wisconsin acres from the federal government. These lands, located in Jackson, Monroe, Juneau, and Wood counties, were acquired as part of the Wisconsin Emergency Conservation Work program in 1934. Under WCD management, it became known as the Central Wisconsin Conservation Area. Another 60,000 acres was designated as the Necedah National Wildlife Refuge and was managed by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

The new public hunting grounds program was only just beginning. What would follow would not only accommodate increasing public recreational needs but also get the state agency into the business of land management that Leopold had been encouraging throughout the decade.

Predator Control

The payment of bounties continued through this period because of its long tradition and popularity for getting rid of vermin. Aldo Leopold started out as a supporter, but as early as 1927 he began to express concerns for certain predatory species. Since the wildlife management profession was in its infancy, popular opinion continued to drive this activity.

Wolves, wildcats (bobcat), lynx, gray fox, and red fox killed by hunters and trappers were eligible for \$1 to \$5 bounties. County bounties went further to include crows, badgers, gophers, rattlesnakes, pigeons, and starlings at \$0.25 a carcass. The WCD's 1935–36 report noted a "predator control contest" awarding certificates of merit to 12 sportsmen's groups for extermination of 3,646 crows, 826 crow eggs, 1,040 snapping turtles, 7,385 striped gophers, and 1,000 starlings.

Annual bounty payments were initially very expensive. In 1928, the bounty payment was \$60,684, more than the entire WCD administration cost. The agency paid \$80,000 for bounties in 1931. Payment over the next decade varied from about \$26,000 to \$63,000. By the end of the decade, bounties were reduced to \$17,530. At cross-purpose to this strategy, the agency was stocking red foxes.

Game Survey

Getting information on game numbers was an early priority of the WCD. As early as 1929, a system of 200 cooperating individuals from around the state volunteered their observations on a variety of game species. The local conservation warden was the conduit for this information, and annual reports were made to the central office. A more elaborate survey organization was established in 1931 when 600 people, including wardens, rangers, sportsmen organizations, and other individuals, were assigned the annual task of reporting estimated game harvests. Coupled with the newly required hunter reporting system, the WCD staff was confident a reasonable estimate on the annual take was possible.

The early results were interesting but produced problems. The grouse kill was reported at 100,000 but was thought to represent less than 10% of the actual kill. Conservatively, the survey team thought the kill was closer to 750,000. The waterfowl harvest was reported at 400,000 but projected to be 1,500,000. The 2,000,000 rabbits reported killed represented an actual harvest in excess of 8,000,000. Surveys in future years would include pheasant, Hungarian partridge, quail, and deer by county.

The initial public notice of survey results was announced on January 24, 1932, by the *Milwaukee Journal*. The headline read "State's First Game Survey Called Amazing," with the subtitle "Few Reports Hint Wild Life Slaughtered." Fearing overreaction on the part of the public, the WCD quickly adopted the practice of only using conservative trend indicators rather than projecting what was thought to be a more realistic harvest.

The game harvest estimate would become a standard for WCD biennial reports and the Wisconsin *Blue Book*. The cottontail rabbit and squirrel harvests were the most abundant in the harvest report for as long as the record was kept. The ruffed grouse kill exceeded 300,000 per year until the cyclic low occurred and the season closed from 1936 through 1938. The annual waterfowl harvest normally exceeded 200,000 per year. While mallards were the primary waterfowl species in the harvest, the 1932 pintail harvest was 335,120, one-third more than the mallard take.

The game farm program established a huntable wild population of pheasants within five years of initial stocking. Open seasons were established in 44 counties by 1935, and the reported harvest was 135,717. The growth that followed was nothing short of phenomenal and greatly exceeded the early projections by Grange. The harvest over the next four years in the counties open to hunting is shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Pheasant harvest, 1936–1939.

Year	Harvest	No. Counties Open to Hunting
1936	144,670	45
1937	174,676	57
1938	276,535	59
1939	443,986	61

Game Committees Formed

When the Legislature created Section 29.174 of the Wisconsin Statutes giving the Conservation Commission authority to regulate seasons and bag limits in 1933, it also gave them the authority to "organize advisory committees to advise it on any matter under consideration" as well as to compensate them for their "actual and necessary expenses." The first public hearings on WCD proposed rules were held in August 1933 at Spooner, Rhinelander, Wisconsin Rapids, and Madison. Local wardens prepared an agenda of proposed rule changes for upland game birds, aquatic fowl, rabbits, and hares based on recommendations from local sportsmen, farmers, and "game observers." Comments were recorded at the hearings and forwarded to Madison for review, and the results were processed for rule change by the August commission meeting.

On December 8, 1933, Leopold received a letter from commissioner Ralph Immell addressed to "Mr. Aldo Leopold, Game Manager, College of Agriculture, Madison, Wisconsin." Immell invited Leopold to serve on a WCD game committee, "established for the purposes of enlarging on general game administration and management policies." Leopold accepted and participated in a meeting with game superintendent Grimmer and WCD director MacKenzie on December 12 that established recommendations for a citizen organization to advise the Conservation Commission on rulemaking.

Grimmer sent the committee's recommendations in a December 13 memorandum to the commission. The basic recommendation was to appoint one game supervisor (state coordinator), nine district game supervisors, and 71 county game committees made up of citizen volunteers. (Wisconsin's 72nd county wasn't organized until 1961 when Menominee County was created from the Menominee Indian Reservation.) The county committees were to work with the conservation warden to secure facts and public opinion on game seasons.

In February 1934, each district game supervisor conducted meetings to elect the three delegates and one alternate (later two) from each county. The four individuals became the "game committee" for their respective county. No person with a conservation law conviction was allowed to serve on a game committee. If a game committee member was cited for a conservation law violation while on the committee, he would be suspended.

The Conservation Commission approved the new concept for obtaining citizen input on March 13, 1934. The new organization was composed of the advisory game committees elected by the sportsmen and approved by the warden and department staff in each county of the state, and the state was divided into nine game districts with a conservation warden acting as the district game supervisor in each district.



Ernie Swift established a form letter in 1937 to accompany the annual letter announcing public hearing locations to WCD personnel. Swift's letter, which was used well into the next decade, provided the following guidance to wardens: You are advised to use your very best judgment in any statement you make which might commit the department with regard to any of the hunting or fishing recommendations. The department this year is making no recommendation concerning these regulations prior to county hearings, and it would be well to confine your remarks to the facts as you know them personally with regard to game and fish populations. However, we wish you to participate in the discussions and make any statements which you yourself know to be true relative to game and fish conditions in your county.

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The first group meeting of the county committees took place in the Capitol Assembly Chambers in Madison on May 14, 1934. Two other "discussion sessions" were held, one at Wisconsin Rapids on May 16 and one in Phillips on May 17. MacKenzie led the discussions on deer at the Madison meeting, and K.C. Jakoubek, WCD beaver and predatory animal supervisor, handled the trapping seasons. Bill Grimmer, who presented the "other game animal" portion of the Madison meeting, reported to the commission later, saying, "It was a splendid meeting."

As a result of the three meetings, proposed regulations were listed in a detailed questionnaire that asked participants if they supported various rules or not. For example, "Do you favor establishing a pheasant season opening the Saturday nearest October 15 and closing November 30 in your county?" The questionnaire was then sent out to each county game committee which, in turn, conducted local meetings to vote on it. After receiving the public opinions from the county meetings, the department then conducted hearings on final recommendations in July with those results going to the Conservation Commission for approval in August.

The new organization and its procedures were repeated in 1935 except that the county game committee title was changed to "game and fish committee" to reflect the agenda involving both topics. Additionally, ten people were elected at the statewide meeting to assist the department in "drafting a conservation program to the Legislature" (precursor to the Executive Conservation Council).

While the county-based process greatly improved the public input into regulations, not all of the early meetings were productive. Ernie Swift was quoted in a 1935 *Conservation Bulletin* editorial stating his observations about a group game and fish committee meeting on July 9 and 10 at Madison's Central High School. The topic of bullhead seasons occupied a good deal of one day, and Swift wrote, "this was really something to write home about. Many delegates went home shaking their heads and saying that such a system was doomed to failure."

Conservation wardens conducting the county meetings didn't get much guidance for running the meetings but did receive a deluge of questionnaires from the Game Division to record the status of a variety of game species. Deer herd yarding, squirrel and rabbit numbers, refuge boundary conditions, winter feeding, and fur-bearing animal surveys were examples of the type of information that was solicited.

Despite some minor setbacks, the county committee process assured the public of an extraordinary opportunity to examine, discuss, and accept or reject regulations. It was the only one of its kind in the entire United States and praised by many for its innovative way of collecting public opinion on fish and game regulations. In 1938, the county election process was held during the same evening as the public hearing, so people only had to attend one meeting.

In 1938, the advisory committees were reorganized, and in 1939, the Executive Conservation Council was created from the ten elected representatives selected in 1935. The formal name of the entire organization became the "Wisconsin Conservation Congress." The nine districts were reshaped into 11 districts, and the local committees became known as "county conservation committees."

New game regulations created in the decade added to the strength of wildlife conservation efforts. The Conservation Congress process enabled every citizen to have his or her say on what rules were needed. Since opinions were many and varied, keeping regulations simple was an early objective, but the volume grew each year. Some regulations established in the 1930s included the following:

- Bow and arrow hunting (1931)
- Mandatory hunter harvest reporting (1931)
- Upland game bird open season authority (1931)
- Deer farm authority (1931)
- General season and bag limit authority (1933)
- Shooting preserve licenses (1935)
- Dog trial and dog training regulation authority (1937)
- Bear damage to crops payment authorization (1939)

Other Program Operations

Grimmer initiated a new department directive for issuing orders on February 14, 1934, by mailing out "GENERAL LETTER, Game No. 1" to all conservation wardens. The letter established the organization of county game committees. A series of correspondence followed that included Game No. 2, crow roosts; Game No. 3, wood creosote rolls to prevent deer damage; Game No. 4, deer check plan; and Game No. 5, winter deer feeding. The numbered series of important correspondence continued for the next 30 years.

The division title changed to the Division of Game Management the next year, probably because "management" was receiving so much attention. The Game Division's specific list of responsibilities in 1934 included the following fifteen programs:

- State game farm
- Stocking program
- Experimental fur farm
- Game season regulations
- Game and wildlife refuge program
- Waterfowl program, including surveys and management necessary to marsh and lake restoration, planting of aquatic food and cover, and the establishment of inviolate waterfowl sanctuaries
- Fur-bearing animal surveys
- Game food and cover restoration
- Winter feeding
- Public hunting grounds
- Commercial game farms, deer farms, and fur farms
- Licensed shooting preserves
- Deer and beaver damage complaints and claims
- Game publicity
- General game research

In 1934, Grimmer had limited staff and depended on wardens to carry out most fieldwork. He knew he had to prioritize the workload, and he also knew that the growing list of responsibilities would require a reorganization of his staff structure and the pursuit of additional staff. For the moment, he identified the following major projects to be implemented over the next five years:

- Establishing cooperative game projects with the federal government, state game departments, and educational institutions
- Adopting a definite policy on public hunting grounds, free shooting, and shooting preserves to be tied in with the general refuge and sanctuary plan
- Increasing the stocking program
- Developing definite research projects at the state game farm
- Simplifying the Wisconsin game regulations
- Developing a clear-cut waterfowl program relative to the marsh and lake restoration and the establishment of waterfowl sanctuaries
- Creating a fur-bearing animal survey with emphasis on muskrat and beaver
- Encouraging cover restoration and winter feeding
- Endeavoring, through publicity, to develop a public consciousness of game management problems to secure full, public support in carrying out this plan

Emerging Deer Program

The Wisconsin deer population had experienced tumultuous times through the 1920s. Habitat devastation coupled with guesswork seasons for 27–30 northern counties were not producing the desired herd increases, so the season was closed for the first time in 1925. Confident that season closure would stockpile deer, the Conservation Commission continued the season closure statewide through 1935, except for 21–24 northern



The pursuit of the wily whitetail developed into a passion for many, and the fever of getting "the big buck" gradually created a phenomenon no one could really explain. The November deer season stirred an excitement in hunters that didn't exist in any other sport. The deer camps that sprung up in tents, shacks, motels, and resorts across the north expanded with the deer season and, with it, a dedication to tradition that would have tremendous impact on the way people felt about "their deer."

The WCD's response to the public's intense interest in deer was to study the species more in order to manage it better for public recreation. The information base was meager in the 1930s, but conservation wardens and game officials were confident the resultant deer hunting seasons were based on the best information available. However, as human emotions were added to the mix and fueled by the strong tradition of a buckoriented hunting fraternity, controversy would soon be synonymous with Wisconsin deer hunting.

An adult male deer with antlers no more than three inches in length and containing no branches or tines one inch or greater in length.

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counties in which a gun deer season was allowed during the alternate years from 1926 through 1936. The conservative one-buck limit (male deer not less than one year old) was applied to these seasons through 1934, and deer tag sales increased from 47,330 to 83,938. The harvest increased from 12,000 to an estimated 21,251. (Most southern counties remained closed to deer hunting through the decade).

The bow and arrow method became legal for killing deer in 1931, but the first season was not established until 1934 in Sauk and Columbia counties when 40 bowmen registered for the hunt; only one *spike buck* was killed during the five-day season. It was the first archery season ever conducted in the United States.

More reports of deer starvation in the northern counties occurred in 1935. WCD personnel used CCC manpower to conduct deer drives for the first time and reported an average of 30 deer per section (square mile). The CCC deer drives continued for several years and provided the first quantified estimate of deer numbers in those terms.

Also in 1935, the U.S. Forest Service made a formal request to the Wisconsin Conservation Commission to remove about 14,000 deer in the Chequamegon National Forest the following January to prevent serious vegetation damage. The request to remove a number equivalent to half the average statewide deer kill drew a riotous reaction. The public exploded with petitions, angry letters, and press releases opposing the proposal. The angry tone created an atmosphere of public resistance that would resonate into the next decade.

Another 1935 event would fuel even more deer controversy. Louis Spray, a tavern keeper in Hayward, formed a Save the Deer club in Sawyer County. The club objective was to oppose all deer hunting in Sawyer County because the group believed that "the deer herd was almost extinct." The club membership was small (less than 100), but the news media greatly expanded their image as club members conducted a bitter campaign to discredit the WCD and outlaw deer hunting.

Various statements by the Save the Deer club recorded in the latter part of 1935 reflected the views of its members:

It is felt by the club that the conservation department has been very delinquent in deer protection and in setting up refuges. The unanimous opinion of those present was that an open season every two years with a similar number of hunters in the woods and a kill such as took place in 1932 and 1934 would soon seriously depopulate, if not exterminate, the deer in northern Wisconsin.

With the 1935 season closed consistent with the formula of the last ten years, the volume of public complaints declined. However, the Save the Deer club filed another statement with the department on December 19:

It is the general feeling among members of the club at this time that there is an ample supply of food for our deer in the woods and forests, and we feel that there is an insufficient supply of deer in our country, rather than too many, and we therefore recommend a closed season until 1938.

County game committees were supportive of reopening the deer season in 1936. However, the WCD changed the bag limit to one forked-horn buck or larger (one male deer with one or more forked antlers). Six central Wisconsin counties were opened to deer hunting along with 22 northern counties. Deer tag sales increased to 97,735, and the gun kill was estimated at 29,676. Columbia and Sauk counties were open to archery hunting again. Although 111 registered archery hunters participated, only one forked-horn buck was killed.

Some deer hunters immediately reacted to the 1936 season, complaining that the gun kill was much too high. The Save the Deer club publicity added to the fervor with claims that no bucks were left for breeding. More people began to believe the herd was on the brink of extermination.

The department responded to the public clamor with a four-page article in the December *Conservation Bulletin* entitled "Review of the Deer Season" by WCD deputy director Ernie Swift. The article reviewed the game management principles

of harvesting surplus game and the safe limits of harvesting only forked-horn bucks. Swift stressed the need for continuing deer hunting because of the winter food shortage in and around most northern deer yards and the summer damage that was occurring on agricultural lands. He also gave assurances that good law enforcement and some 800,000 acres of refuges were adequate protection against overharvest.

County game committees took heed of the information the department was giving them in preparing for the 1937 deer season. Backed by the census information produced by the CCC deer drives documenting continuing high deer numbers, the department was able to convince the voting delegates that conducting back-to-back open seasons for the first time in 13 years was justified. Minutes from the statewide meetings indicated a five-day forked-horn buck season was supported *unanimously*.

The Conservation Commission was uneasy about the 1937 season. Complaint letters, Save the Deer club protests, and unfavorable media coverage in the north continued unabated. A July 22 editorial in the *Sawyer County Record* encapsulated the skeptical views still being expressed with an editorial stating, "This will be the first time since 1925 that an open season for deer hunting for two consecutive years will be had. Game wardens told the delegates that deer are plentiful and that a winter problem will be serious unless hunting reduces some of the surplus. What a lot of bunk."

The department continued attempts to educate the public about deer management strategies. Director MacKenzie wrote another long article (seven pages) about the deer situation in the September 1937 *Conservation Bulletin*. Citizen letters endorsing the deer season progress and commenting on the growth of the deer herd followed the article.

The volume of public complaint was enough to convince the governor to issue an executive order to reduce the length of the 1937 deer hunting season. It resulted in the shortest Wisconsin season in history to date when a three-day forked-horn buck season was held in just 30 counties that November. Deer tag sales dropped to 90,906 and produced a small harvest of 14,835 deer. The bow season was expanded from Columbia and Sauk counties to include portions of Dane and Manitowoc counties with a season length of 20 days, but none of the 140 participants killed a deer.

Public controversy did not go away. The Save the Deer club activity continued and was joined by a series of negative articles from a hunting organization's newsletter called the *Badger Sportsman*, which was published in Oshkosh. The editor of this newsletter continued to lambaste the WCD at every opportunity over the next several years and served to enflame public attitudes even more.

The WCD continued to defend the agency's deer policy using the *Conservation Bulletin* as the main conduit to the public. In December 1937, an extremely strong article by a game committee member, Dr. J.A. Riegel, categorized most of the deer season critics as being "uninformed sentimentalists." The article berated citizens who, knowing little or nothing about conservation, participated in the deer debate, voicing emotionally based opinions. Riegel struck back at the Save the Deer club by revealing that its founder, Louis Spray, had been arrested twice for game law violations and hinted that his "unsavory record" caused him to be rejected by the WCD as a game committee representative. He submitted that this rejection was the real motivation for Spray's attacks on the department.

The CCC deer drives continued into the 1937–38 winter. More dead deer were found, and a larger number of deer per section (35.3) were documented during 92 organized drives. Again, warden reports and observations by game committee members were consistent with the CCC counts. Continuing the consecutive season pattern in 1938 seemed justified.

In 1938, the department again made an effort to inform the public about current progress by publishing another long narrative series on deer in the *Conservation Bulletin*. A September article began by announcing the results of July 12–13 game committee meetings, which had unanimously endorsed a seven-day forked-horn buck season starting November 19. The article went on to review deer history including a note that only 190 deer were salvaged from car collisions but that a far greater number were likely injured or killed.

Living Standards At the end of the 1930s, t

At the end of the 1930s, the economy had yet to recover. Almost ten million Americans were unemployed (17% of the work force), and two and one-half million were completely dependent on government programs. Half of all male workers and two-thirds of all female workers earned less than \$1,000 a year. Only 48,000 taxpayers out of a population of 132 million earned more than \$2,500 a year.

In 1939, the average income was \$1,729 per year, gasoline cost 10 cents a gallon, and a postage stamp cost 3 cents. A person could buy a new car for \$700 and a house for \$3,850. Milk was 49 cents a gallon, eggs 19 cents a dozen, coffee 40 cents a pound, and fresh baked bread was 8 cents a loaf.

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Harry Johnson, Fish Creek Game Farm manager.

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The 1938 gun deer season was conducted in the same 30 counties that were open the year before. Deer tag sales surpassed 100,000 for the first time in history, and the deer harvest was recorded at 32,855. The 30-day bow season included eight counties, with 330 bowmen adding one deer to the kill. Despite the *Badger Sportsman* newsletter's efforts to generate more public opposition, the forked-horn buck season success proved popular with hunters.

Backed by game committee testimonials, continuing the deer season pattern into the 1939 season was endorsed by the Conservation Commission. The gun deer season, still limited to 30 counties, attracted 109,630 deer tag sales, and the harvest was estimated at 25,730. (Table 7 shows estimated hunter participation and deer harvest from 1930 through 1939.) Fourteen counties open to archery hunting attracted 600 bowmen and added six bucks to the total kill.

Table 7. Estimated deer hunting participation and harvest, 1930–1939.

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Tag sales	77,284	None	70,245	None	83,938	None	97,735	90,906	103,721	109,630
Harvest	23,000		36,009		21,251		29,676	14,835	32,855	25,730

Minnesota and Michigan were experiencing the same deer population and range problems as Wisconsin. Both states also had a hunting faction committed to buck deer, but a Michigan innovation surfaced that would later produce a significant tool for Wisconsin in reducing the reproductive segment of the herd. As early as 1921, Michigan regulations allowed groups of four or more hunters to buy a "camp deer license" that authorized killing an extra buck for use as camp meat.

Game Division Staff and Organization

The Game Division started out in 1928 as a staff of one: Wallace Grange. The department administration probably provided the junior stenographer, Gertrude Wittrock, from a pool of clerical workers. When Grange hired his first laborer, Harry Johnson, it marked the first division field activity that would be conducted without the aid of a conservation warden.

Later in 1928, seven additional workers were hired at the Fish Creek Game Farm. They were George Ressler, Herman Olson, Harold Shine, Therman Deerwester, Oliver Johnson, Elmer Kill, and Oscar Nelson. Harry Johnson became the Fish Creek Game Farm superintendent (game farm manager) at that time. Harry was promoted to "gamekeeper" at \$137.50 per month on January 1, 1930. It's the only known title of its kind ever used by the agency for any employee.

The Waupun Game Farm created in 1930 was supervised by William Norton who was hired that May. When a subsidiary game farm facility was established at Moon Lake in 1931, Frank Hopkins was hired as game farm superintendent that September. In that same year, the Fur Bureau was created within the Game Division, and veteran conservation warden I.H. Boomer was appointed Fur Bureau "field investigator." A senior stenographer, Lucille Leitzke, was also assigned to the new bureau.

The 1932 WCD personnel directory listed only four permanent salaried personnel working for Grimmer: Harry Johnson, game farm manager; Frank Hopkins, laborer; I.H. Boomer, Fur Bureau field investigator; and Franklin Schmidt, research biological aid.

Earl Graves, the department's first pathologist, was hired August 1, 1934, and received the first known game biologist title in the WCD. Ralph C. Conway was also hired in 1934 and was the second individual to obtain a game biologist title on November 10, 1936. Fred Zimmerman was hired as a laborer in 1937, but with his master's degree in zoology, he advanced rapidly to become a game biologist in 1940.

Bert Barger and George Ressler were named "experimental and propagation specialists" in 1935, and Paul Kennedy started as a laborer at the game farm. The 1935 salaries were probably considered good for permanent employees. Field staff in the common laborer or semi-skilled laborer category received \$125–\$135 a month. Seasonal or

temporary workers in the same categories received \$0.25 to \$0.30 an hour or a maximum of \$2.50–\$3 per day (\$50–\$60 per month). Skilled laborers like carpenters, electricians, and plumbers received \$0.40 per hour or \$4 a day (\$80–\$100 a month).

Director MacKenzie kept a heavy hand in the Poynette operation. He hired Horace Kellogg on April 25, 1935, as a laborer sweeping floors at the Poynette office. Harry Johnson, who was in charge of game farm operations, was taken aback by this hiring but was advised not to worry about it. Soon afterward, however, Kellogg was appointed to be manager of the fur farm part of the game farm operation.

Harry Johnson was stunned and embarrassed over the Kellogg appointment. He had been in charge of the entire game farm including furbearers since its inception and had no prior notice that his duties would change. He kept quiet about his disenchantment for several months but finally decided he didn't like the new arrangement or the way he was treated. He resigned from the WCD in June of 1936.

By 1938, the Poynette Experimental Game and Fur Farm was clearly the hub of most of the Game Management Division field activity including game stocking, the winter feeding program, and a new Refuge and Public Hunting Grounds Section under Ralph Conway. The new section included staff shown on the 1936 list (numbers 5–14 in the sidebar). Ben Hubbard, Harold Steinke, and Ralph Hopkins were added to the game farm staff in 1938.

Because federal cooperation was needed under the new Pittman-Robertson program, and there undoubtedly was a need for cooperation with other state agencies, a new Cooperative Game Management Section was created in the division in 1938. Walter Scott became its first section leader the following year.

A "Game Board" was appointed by MacKenzie to outline propagation and distribution plans as well as to make recommendations to guide "the many other programs and policies carried on by the Game Division." Appointees included the assistant director of the department, superintendent of game management, supervisor of Refuge and Public Hunting Grounds, supervisor of Cooperative Game Management, supervisor of the State Experimental Game and Fur Farm, the chief of research, and one law enforcement supervisor.

The Game Management Division staff included at least 70 personnel by 1939, with most being seasonal laborers stationed at the game farm. New names to the roster include Pittman-Robertson project researchers Irven Buss, W.S. Feeney, Wallace Grange (rehired), Fred Zimmerman, and J.R. Smith. Seasonal employees were not listed by name. Program complexity would require even further work force expansion over the next decade.



The 1936 game farm guidebook listed the game farm staff as follows:

- 1. William F. Grimmer, Game Division superintendent, Madison
- **2.** H.B. Kellogg, Jr., game farm manager, Poynette
- 3. Dr. E.F. Graves, pathologist, Poynette
- **4. Ralph C. Conway,** PHG (Public Hunting Grounds) supervisor, Madison
- 5. Bert Barger, Poynette
- 6. Frank Esser, Poynette
- 7. Frank Hopkins, Poynette
- 8. Paul Kennedy, Poynette
- 9. Clarence Millard,
 Poynette
- 10. Kenneth Mills, Poynette
- 11. Oscar Nelson, Poynette
- **12.** Herman Ohnesorge, Poynette
- 13. George Ressler, Poynette
- 14. Harold Shine, Poynette

Director H.W. MacKenzie (left) with W.F. Grimmer (center) and H.B. Kellogg at Poynette Game Farm in December 1936.



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Game Pivision Organization

The Game Division published an organizational chart on May 10, 1935, with an explanatory memorandum that identified, for the first time of record, the entire permanent staff (18) and their duties:

Madison Office

- W.F. Grimmer, superintendent, game division: The superintendent is directly responsible to the director for all phases of game administration and game management.
- Ernest Swift: Mr. Swift will act as general assistant of the game division and will assist the superintendent in supervising all general activities in the division. He will, in addition, act as supervisor, commercial fur farms, and will be directly responsible for fur-bearing animal management, commercial game and deer farm licenses, and deer damage claims. He will handle miscellaneous correspondence and will make the contacts that may be necessary with the public relations division. Mr. Swift will be directly responsible to the superintendent.
- **Gilbert Gigstead:** Mr. Gigstead is in complete charge of the upland game and waterfowl refuge program, to include inspections and general management. He will be responsible in addition for the winter feeding program, experimental game management projects and demonstrations, and shooting preserves, including the necessary inspections and reports.

Field Personnel

- K.C. Jakoubek, headquarters, Tomahawk: Mr. Jakoubek, as supervisor of the northeast district on beaver and predatory animal control, will supervise the counties of Adams, Florence, Forest, Green Lake, Juneau, Langlade, Lincoln, Marathon, Marinette, Marquette, Oconto, Oneida, Outagamie, Portage, Shawano, Vilas, Waupaca, Waushara, and Wood. He will be directly responsible for necessary surveys and reports and for general beaver and predatory animal control in his district. Mr. Jakoubek in addition will be responsible for recommendations on beaver in his district, which will best result in their conservation and proper utilization.
- P.C. Peterson, headquarters, Hayward: Mr. Peterson, as supervisor of the northwest district on beaver and predatory animal control, will supervise control in the counties of Ashland, Barron, Bayfield, Buffalo, Burnett, Chippewa, Clark, Douglas, Dunn, Eau Claire, Iron, Jackson, La Crosse, Monroe, Pepin, Pierce, Polk, Price, Rusk, St. Croix, Sawyer, Taylor, Trempealeau, and Washburn. He will be directly responsible for necessary surveys and reports and for general beaver and predatory animal control in his district. Mr. Peterson in addition will be responsible for recommendations on beaver in his district, which will best result in their conservation and proper utilization.
- Harry Johnson, headquarters, Poynette: Mr. Johnson will act as supervisor of all state game farms. He will act as manager of the Poynette Game Farm and will be in direct charge of all farms of propagation, stocking, restocking, construction, experimental breeding, rearing, and feeding projects, and commercial game farm inspections.
- **Ralph Conway, headquarters, Poynette:** Mr. Conway will act as general assistant to Mr. Johnson in propagation and management.
- Bert Barger, George Ressler, Herman Ohnesorge, Harold Shine, headquarters, Poynette: Messrs. Barger, Ressler, Ohnesorge, and Shine, as specialists in their respective lines, will be under the direct supervision of manager Harry Johnson, and in his absence, Mr. Conway. All other permanent and temporary game farm employees listed or not listed will likewise be under the direct supervision of Mr. Johnson, and in his absence, Mr. Conway.
- Paul Kennedy, headquarters, Poynette: Mr. Kennedy will be responsible for general stenography and bookkeeping at the state game farm. He will in addition offer such assistance as is necessary in both stenography and bookkeeping at the state game farm as his time will permit. He will be directly responsible to

Harry Johnson, game farm manager, on all game farm work and to H.B. Kellogg Jr., manager of the experimental fur farm, on all fur farm work.

Frank Hopkins, headquarters, Campbellsport: Mr. Hopkins, as manager of the Moon Lake Experimental Farm, will be responsible for all propagation and experimental breeding, rearing, and feeding projects on the farm, together with the necessary distribution activities, game farm reports, and miscellaneous. He will be directly responsible to Mr. Johnson.

Tony Rinzel, headquarters, Campbellsport: Mr. Rinzel, as propagation specialist, will be directly responsible to Mr. Hopkins.

Dr. E.F. Graves, headquarters, Poynette: Dr. Graves is assigned as game division pathologist. He will be in complete charge of the experimental laboratory and the activities connected therewith in the analysis of the general game and farm game and fur-bearing animals. He will be responsible for disease studies and parasite control on the farm proper. He will cooperate with manager H.B. Kellogg Jr. of the fur farm on general research and experimental problems and projects. He will act in an advisory capacity on the housing, breeding, and feeding problems at both the experimental fur farm and the game farm.

Dr. Graves will make the necessary contacts with interested fur groups and individuals and with sportsmen's clubs. He will prepare necessary papers and reports for publication.

H.B. Kellogg Jr., headquarters, Poynette: Mr. Kellogg is assigned as manager of the experimental fur farm and will be responsible for all fur farm propagation projects. He will in addition supervise the construction program. He will work in cooperation with Dr. Graves on experimental projects of all animal species, including housing, breeding, rearing, and feeding.

Mr. Kellogg will in addition be responsible for fur farm reports and costs. He will make proper contacts with the public relations division through the superintendent. He will be in complete charge of public contact (exhibition pens, guides for visitors, etc.). He will work in conjunction with Dr. Graves on diseases and parasite problems on the farm.

Oscar Nelson, headquarters, Poynette: Mr. Nelson, as head animal keeper, will be directly responsible to Mr. Kellogg for propagation activities on the farm.

Clarence Millard, headquarters, Poynette: Mr. Millard, as animal keeper, will be directly responsible to Mr. Kellogg for propagation activities of the farm and such miscellaneous duties as Mr. Kellogg may assign to him.

Messrs. Gigstead, Jakoubek, Peterson, Johnson, Graves, and Kellogg will be directly responsible for the administration of their sections to Mr. Grimmer, superintendent of the game division, and to Mr. Swift, assistant, game division.

I.H. Boomer of the Fur Bureau is not mentioned in the listing and presumed to have returned to the Law Enforcement Division.







The Gamekeepers



Leopold Reflections

Aldo Leopold was a prolific writer, doing most of his writing at sunup before he left for the university in the morning. While he published several books and hundreds of essays and articles over his lifetime, many of his writings were never published, including "Deer Management in the Southwest" (formerly entitled "Southwestern Game Fields" manuscript).

By 1937, Leopold had contemplated much about the new wildlife management profession. He succinctly summarized his thinking with the following:

- 1. It does little good for the wildlife conservationist to cry over spilled milk.
- 2. The spillage cannot be gathered up by legislative fiat, and only to a limited extent by legislative appropriation.
- 3. Much more milk was spilled than was necessary, and the spilling is still in process.
- 4. One fundamental remedy, as yet barely tried, is to find out how to minimize the spillage—that is, how to dovetail wildlife conservation with economic land-use. This is research.
- 5. Another fundamental remedy is to give more people the desire and the skill to avoid spillage. This is education.

A manuscript sent to Jay Darling of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in 1938 gave insight to the growth of the conservation program in Wisconsin. In it, Leopold noted that "conservation is a bird that flies faster than the shot we aim at it." In reflecting on the Wisconsin Conservation Department to Darling, Leopold wrote:

I can remember the day when I was sure that reforming the Game Commission would give us conservation. When we got through, we found we had just started. We learned that you can't conserve game by itself; to rebuild the game resource you must first rebuild game range, and this means rebuilding the people who use it, and all the things they use it for. The job we aspired to perform with a dozen volunteers is now baffling a hundred professionals. The job we thought would take a few years will be barely started in fifty!

Our target, then, is a receding one. The task grows greater year by year, but so does its importance. We begin by seeking a few trees or birds; to get them, we must build a new relationship between men and the land.

Leopold finally completed something in 1939 that he had started in his book *Game Management*: drafting a statement of qualifications for wildlife management professionals. As a member of the Wildlife Society's Committee on Professional Standards, Leopold wrote the "Academic and Professional Standards in Wildlife Work" that had been developed by the committee and later published in the *Journal of Wildlife Management* in April of 1939. The standards addressed preparedness both for the student entering a college-level "wildlife education" program and for the graduate entering the profession.

According to the lengthy and detailed standards that Leopold laid out, the wildlife management student should possess certain characteristics including intelligence, evidenced by a "higher than average scholastic record," a "reasonably sound physique and cooperative personality," and an ability to effectively communicate both verbally and in writing. Beyond academic studies, the student should have acquired "considerable" knowledge of "some branch of natural history" through his own intellectual curiosity and effort because, as Leopold put it, "animals, plants, and soils are the alphabet of wildlife management" on which proficiency in wildlife management is based: "In five years a good school can teach a student to spell words with it, but he must in some degree know his alphabet at the start." Skill in hunting, fishing, and "woodmanship" was also desirable in a young man pursuing a degree in wildlife management, as was a working knowledge of farming, forestry, and "other land industries."

Noting that five or six years of college, including a master's degree, were "the minimum for professional standing," Leopold described the requisite qualifications and characteristics for the individual who had completed his professional training and was fully prepared for "professional practice" as a wildlife manager:

- During his professional training the student should have acquired the "basic skill" of diagnosing the landscape, which includes the ability "to discern and predict trends in its biotic community and to modify them where necessary in the interest of conservation."
- Relying on both his own trained observations and on "the rough outlines of research needed to refine and verify his diagnosis," he should understand the "component parts" of the landscape, the plant and animal species, soils, and water, and their interrelationships.
- He should be able to deduce the history of a landscape and view it both in terms of its past, its "recent history," and its future, thinking of the land in terms "not of plant and animal species alone but of communities; not of types alone, but of successions."
- By the time he entered the profession, he should have developed an
 "appreciation of the ethics and esthetics as well as of the economics
 of wildlife." He should recognize the effect of "economic uses" on the
 landscape and be able to identify necessary modifications of that economic
 use "in the interest of wildlife."
- He should be proficient in technical photography and simple statistics and by examining a carcass be able to determine "some notion of its normality or pathology and the cause of death."
- It was important that he be a "habitual reader" of current literature in the
 profession and be familiar with the "personalities" conducting research in
 the areas of wildlife management, ecology, land use, and natural history.
- He must be able to describe and defend his views of wildlife policy at
 professional and conservation meetings and therefore able to "speak well
 enough" to effectively describe "his readings, observations, and ideas."
- "Last and most important," Leopold stated, "he should have developed in some degree that imponderable combination of curiosity, skepticism, and objectivity known as "the scientific attitude."

Leopold no doubt ensured those credentials were solid for the first of his students hired by the WCD in 1940 to embark on the first Pittman-Robertson research projects. Irven Buss, Lyle Sowls, and Bruce Stollberg were the first of several who would not only produce new, fundamental science for the agency but would lead a new generation of game managers in the task of building a new profession.

Throughout this time period, Leopold had been referring to himself as "professor of game management." He changed that title to "professor of wildlife management" at decade's end. It would take the state conservation agency a long time to see the relevance of that new title.

